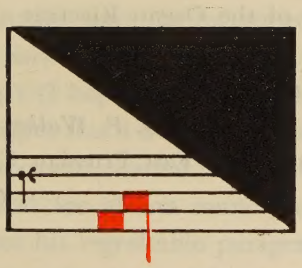
MVSICA DISCIPLINA

A Journal of the History of Music

ARMEN CARAPETYAN
Editor



Vol. III, Fasc. 2, 3, 4 - 1949

AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF MUSICOLOGY
ROME

CONTENTS

Editorial - 45

The Summer Canon and its Background I

Jacques Handschin 55

Some Music Treatises and their Interrelation. A School of Liége (*c.* 1040-1200)?

Jos. Smits van Waesberghe 95

Il Codice di Lucca

Nino Pirrotta & Ettore Li Gotti

Part I. Descrizione Inventario

Nino Pirrotta 119

The Early Development of the Organ Ricercar

Willi Apel 139

Claude Le Jeune and *Musique Mesurée*

D. P. Walker & François Lesure 151

Elizabethan Music Prints in an East Prussian Castle

Otto Heinrich Mies 171

Bibliography 173

Corrections 184

Communications 185

Announcements 187

EDITORIAL

IN REPLY TO AN INCORRECT STATEMENT

In the « Fall » issue, 1949, of the *Journal of the American Musicological Society* and in a report by P. H. Lang on the Congress of the International Musicological Society at Basel, the American Institute of Musicology (hereafter AIM) was made the subject of some very curious remarks.

I write a reply only because these remarks contain a number of statements and a larger number of insinuations that plainly clash with facts, and — whether the author realized it or not — because they are openly incriminating. Even so, I should leave the matter go if a number of distinguished scholars in active participation in the work of AIM were not being compromised by Mr. Lang's (I hope only inadvertent and not intentional) remarks. The reader will agree that I owe these collaborators a clarification. And since this occasion has arisen, I should like also that the whole musicological world know once and for always some matters regarding AIM.

The author introduces his regrettable paragraph about « Mr. Armen Carapetyan and his American Institute of Musicology in Rome » after his rather ill-advised paragraph (at least in its tone) about « the Germans ». He begins with saying that there is « but a tenuous connection » between AIM and America, and later he informs his readers that during a conversation at Basel with Messrs. Lang, Bukofzer and Gombosi I « agreed that since it is impossible to run the Institute with an American staff and for American needs (!) it is senseless to insist on a title that is misleading. » There is much misrepresentation here. I did not agree that the title was necessarily « misleading », much less that it was « senseless » to « insist » on it; I did not agree that it was « impossible to run the Institute with an American staff » — in fact I recall no discussion of the subject; and certainly I know nothing about a discussion that would result in the amazing conclusion that the Institute was not for « American needs, » espe-

cially because it was not run by an American staff! It is a novel idea that American musicological « needs » may be fulfilled only by an « American staff. » Rather, is not one reminded of ideas and practices that the author himself claims to deplore? [1]

The qualifier « American » was used first of all because the Institute was and is an American organisation, and for all sorts of necessary and even imperative reasons, too complicated and too tedious to explain, in connection with legal, business, and banking matters, especially in a country where bureaucracy sets obstacles on one's path at every turn. It was particularly expedient in the conditions of 1946, when the Institute started work here. At all events, the decision to use « American » in the name of the Institute was not made without consultation with various sources, including the director of the American Academy in Rome, and the Cultural Attaché of the American Embassy in Rome, whose full support, as also of his office, AIM has had the honor and fortune to enjoy. In Basel I said that if the qualifier « American » was to be an empty one we should ourselves be the first to drop it. Mr. Lang has since been courteously informed by letter that after a reexamination of the matter, after deliberation, and after consultations, it has been considered indispensable *for the work* of the Institute to maintain the title, at least for the time being. And I regret to inform Mr. Lang that one of those who categorically advised that the title stand unchanged was just one of the two colleagues who were with him during the conversation at Basel. (Nor, as indicated above [see note 1], is this the only instance of discrepancy between the views of Messrs. Lang, Gombosi and Bukofzer related to the

[1] It is necessary to note that this meeting at Basel was not sought by me, nor perhaps by Mr. Lang, though the prophetic tone of his remarks would suggest that he had intended « for the good of all concerned » to show me my errors and bring me his « remonstration ». The meeting was suggested in the presence of Messrs. Lang and Bukofzer by the kind interest of Mr. Gombosi, upon which I invited all three to my hotel. But the little time allowed by the activities of the Congress and the restraint by the laws of hospitality did not permit a reply by me to Mr. Lang's observations. The following day, before unexpected departure from Basel, I had the occasion for a few words only with Mr. Bukofzer and much later for leisurely discussion with Mr. Gombosi (both of whom did not wholly subscribe to all that Mr. Lang had said), but not with Mr. Lang. Mr. Lang had no reply from me at Basel. He has had a reply from me since, in writing, which was perhaps not in his hands when he wrote his report. At all events his assertions that I « readily agreed » to this and to that are not warranted. In these and in similar assertions with which he closes his remarks Mr. Lang employs the technique of forcing down a unilateral « fait accompli. »

conversation described by Mr. Lang in such cavalier fashion.) We repeat, then: the qualifier « American » has for us — frankly — the value of an expedient, for the sake of our manifold work in research, collection of material, publications, etc., etc. (And this work, I venture to say, does not do discredit to American musicology.)

But we are not admitting that there is no other reason than that of expediency for the qualifier « American. » The Institute was organized by the writer, whom Mr. Lang graciously describes as « American, » and was founded in Cambridge, Massachusetts, where it still has quarters at Harvard Square. From the first it had, and still has, the moral and material support of a distinguished group of friends (and friends of things spiritual), in and out of the profession, all of them quite American, some of them formidably so. (And it is of some interest to these friends that the Institute is an American organization.) My wife who so far as I know is American, born in America (which is more than I can say for myself), has labored arduously at my side from the very first. The Institute is shortly to be reorganized either as a corporation in the States or in some other form[2]. In the meantime it is absurd to think that anyone in America will have regarded the AIM as representative of the American Musicological Society, much less of the American Government. Anyhow I have just discovered that a previous issue of the *Journal* took pains to carry a foot-note offering this explanation. As regards misunderstanding by Europeans, Mr. Lang chases somewhat of a phantom. It is true that here in Europe many cultural-educational institutions are state organizations, but not all of them; and at all events it does not mean that every European is ignorant of American ways. At any rate no opportunity has been

[2] Mr. Lang has been informed by letter of decisions regarding the reorganization of AIM: that the American Advisory Board, having served its purpose in the first stages of our work, will be substituted by a body consisting only of active collaborators, which has seemed to us a clear-cut and logical basis of action. This communication was made to him *purely out of courtesy*, in reply to the conversation in Basel. I did not *owe* him the communication, since I had not asked for the conversation. Mr. Lang was extended the further courtesy of a request to reply and express his opinion; more than three months having passed, a reply is not in hand.

With regard to the American Advisory Board, I wish publicly to thank each member to the measure of interest and support directed to AIM. At any rate I thank them all for the moral support inevitably lent to AIM by the appearance of their names in the Advisory Board. This support itself has contributed to the development of AIM's work. Now the AIM, changing from one stage to another, gratefully acknowledges the help of the Advisory Board during the first stage.

lost to clarify our position. In numerous communications it has been made clear that we are a private organization. One of these was a report sent to Prof. Blume at his request some two years ago, which was published in the official organ of the German Musicological Society. Contrary to what Mr. Lang would have, the Institute enjoys not an unenviable reputation in Europe, (a cursory glance at our archives and a perusal of various publications will show it), and if it has caused the Europeans « wonderment » it is not quite in the sense Mr. Lang intends. If on the other hand the Institute has caused « embarrassment » at home, we beg the author to explain where he got his information and why is it that so many have written with great admiration and encouragement, and how is it that two prominent figures in American musicology, to mention only two, living in two important centres, remained ignorant of even the de Van case, which allegedly aroused a fury in America? [3]

But why all the agitation about the name of the Institute? I have admitted the pragmatic nature of our name. We have no fanatical adherence to it. Above all, we have no nationalistic sentiments, but on the contrary we have done and are doing all possible to act as an international body and have the benefits of international collaboration. At the opportune moment, and not by coercion from elsewhere, we may ourselves prefer to be dissociated from any suggestion of a particular nationality and only belong to the commonwealth of learning [4].

* * *

I have at various occasions privately expressed the view of AIM regarding politics and scholarship. I should like once and for all to set

[3] I quote: « In your letter you say: 'You undoubtedly know what storm de Van caused', but I really know nothing about what happened. » The other writes: « Certainly your lecturers have been of the best [referring to our Summer Sessions] and Mr. de Van's editions are being well received and publicised over here. »

[4] I may point out that bearing the qualifier « American » has not been all to our advantage. During the past year we have repeatedly borne the brunt of attacks and have had to answer for uncomely behaviour of certain « American musicologists. » One or two who were here and had been hospitably received and favored to the limit under the existing circumstances, went home and published certain criticisms directed to Italy. To some extent these criticisms were doubtless justified. But those authors too were unable to keep themselves within the bounds of good taste, thus arousing indignation here, creating difficulties for us and other Americans who come to study, and certainly defeating their own purposes.

forth this view publicly. It is very simple. AIM does *not* view politics and scholarship together. AIM exists for endeavors in the advancement of learning and culture and it fixes its eyes upon scholarly and cultural merits. It does not exist as a political body nor for functioning as a « political screen. » We are not here to espouse any political ideology. We have just as strong a sense of repulsion as any one else regarding the Nazi abominations, but we will not mix discrimination in matters of scholarship and culture with the debased discrimination in matters political and racial — as did the Nazis. Dare I say, moreover, that we, very unfashionably, have also some belief in Christian charity?

And so it is that G. de Van, mentioned by Mr. Lang but generously passed over without « further recrimination » because he is dead, had a part in our work. G. de Van had been accused of objectionable political behaviour during the war, but of this we knew nothing to begin with; and we still do not know the true facts. He was given a charge in the work of the Institute on the merits of his scholarship — which was quite first rate [5]. For this we apologize to no one. For the great vexations and appalling injury, material and spiritual, suffered at his hands because he was an unbalanced character, we owe no one explanations, nor do we ask for anyone's sympathy. But we should like to be left in peace and not be hounded forever because of him [6].

But one does not find that the relentless politico-scholars exercise even their own philosophy with exemplary consistency. Did not Mr. Lang during our conversation at Basel show himself in favor of a great scholar with alleged Nazi connections? Was this because he knew the correct facts, or was it a happy lapse into straight thinking? In connection with G. de Van, it would perhaps dismay Mr. Lang to know that one or two « American musicologists » whom he would staunchly champion, and not unde-

[5] Il will be interesting to quote on the point from a recent letter to me written by one of the most revered and beloved musicologists on this side of the Atlantic, who was himself victim of the Nazi aggression and an early objector to Guillaume de Van, which objection however he withheld at my explanation of our outlook: « But let us forget this personage of melodrama, and let us keep only his worth as a scholar. Here there is no doubt: he knew his work, and whatever criticism one may make, his was a competence of the first order. »

[6] Incidently it should be mentioned, in view of the curious concern whether or not AIM has had Americans on its staff, that, as I wrote Mr. Lang, Guillaume (more correctly William) de Van was as American as « corn-bread. » He was born of American parents in Memphis, Tennessee and brought up there until the age of twenty-one or twenty-two.

servedly, were in correspondence with G. de Van for collaboration in his grandiose plans at Paris sometime before I ever met G. de Van. These documents, dealing with publicational matters later absorbed by AIM, exist in our archives.

It is obliquely stated in the report that the « latest number of *Musica Disciplina* [Vol. III, fasc. 1] shows that the Institute afforded refuge to people with whom even the Germans will have no truck ». How is it that publishing an article of very great value, full of new material (it would not be surprising if some of Mr. Lang's own pupils someday drew from the article topics for Ph. D. dissertations), written by an eminent scholar, is to be interpreted as « giving refuge »?

I have already discussed our stand in these matters. We have no « secret service » and we did not know anything about the author's political past, nor do we still (except for the information we have had from Mr. Lang), and we do not care to know anything about it. *Musica Disciplina* is happy to have printed a highly interesting and original research article, and it promises its readers, a number of whom have gratefully commented on the article in question, to do so again when the occasion will present itself. Against the unkind phrase « .... people with whom even the Germans wll have no truck, » I must simply say that it was precisely a German, a prominent musicologist in America, who translated the article in question (gratis), as a kind help to the author. Moreover, this musicologist belongs to the very race that was abominably treated by the Nazis. But evidently he understands better than some others of his colleagues the spirit of charity on the one hand and that of scholary dispassionateness on the other.

I heartily agree that scholarship « prostituted to Nazi ideology » is not to be respected. Nay, it must be despised. But we must be careful lest we equally prostitute scholarship by a witch-hunt. Moreover one should like to be satisfied that we are just as vigorous in our denunciation of scholarship prostituted to other, say communistic, ideologies. I fancy that some who are vociferous now may have embarrassments in the future, for what if we fell in armed conflict with Communist powers — a dismal but more than possible eventuality? How many American scholars avowedly communists or communistic in their sympathies would we purge? Will there not be some musicologists among them? Finally, so should we also despise scholarship prostituted to institutional politics, and to self-agrandisement.

* * *

I have made use of first person plural pronouns. Behind these are the persons referred to above, plus a roster of illustrious names who have collaborated or are collaborating in the work of AIM. I should like to ask in return who are represented by Mr. Lang's various forms of this pronoun used so peremptorily, as for example in « There is still considerable reluctance on our part to restore.... relationship with the Germans »?.

* * *

Mr. Lang knows more than I do about the intimate affairs of AIM. « It is true that there is an Advisory Board featuring a dozen or so Americans, but they have never taken an active part and a number of them have resigned ». Why did Mr. Lang find this sentence necessary, and why did he allow himself to write the last phrase? It is at all events gratuitous, and it carries mischievous implications. Mr. Lang is not in the position for asserting that « they have never taken any active part ». They have. And after all surely Mr. Lang himself was taking an active enough part, even after his resignation. It is his own resignation, sent to me in June 1949 on his way to Basel, and only one other, early in 1947, owing to the de Van issue, that must support Mr. Lang's assertion, « a number of them have resigned ». In fact, in 1948 the Advisory Board was *enlarged* by several new members. The reader may verify this by comparing Vol. I with Vol. II of *Musica Disciplina*[7].

* * *

The sentence quoted above is followed by: « On the other hand some persons, none of them American, with very questionable pasts (and even presents) joined the Institute thereby causing wonderment abroad and embarrassment at home ». Then the author mentions G. de Van, and the case of « refuge » given by *Musica Disciplina,* both already discussed. With these two cases dismissed, will Mr. Lang, since his statement would

[7] The absence of a third name in Vol. II is due not to a resignation as Mr. Lang would have it, but to a mutual discussion on wholly different questions.

imply still others (note the plural in his parenthetical phrase) name those with « very questionable pasts and.... presents », who have « joined » the Institute, and will he please explain what he means by joining the Institute? Our collaborators have a right to demand and *do* demand satisfaction on this point.

Throughout the discussion Mr. Lang speaks in the tone of a plenipotentiary. He would give his readers the impression that he has a mandate from the entire body of American Musicology and even from the entire (non German?) musicological world, and that his criticisms and observations are warranted by infallible wisdom and supported by supreme authority. Whence all this and how? [8].

* * *

The AIM was not born of the affluence of a Maecenas. It was born of a sense of need in the mind of a student of Mediaeval and Renaissance music, and out of a simple ideal, and not without travail. Since then it has been nurtured and cared for by toil and sacrifice — sacrifice of time, energy, peace, substance and even health. Our work has been arduous and our path beset with difficulties. Many have been the vexations and adversities. Problems have at times been crushing. Mortifying have been the frustrations and delays owing to post-war conditions: shortage of material, shortage of technical facilities, shortage of electrical energy, shortage of expert workers, shortage of good will, demoralization of men upon whose craft we have had to depend, strikes, bureaucracy, etc., etc. Agonizing have been the efforts for surmounting these difficulties. Many of them have been surmounted; fresh ones loom before us.

But at all events we have I daresay assured for musicology a whole body

[8] Various musicologists have already expressed indignation regarding the ill-advised paragraph in the *Journal*. I should like to quote from one of them, from a very eminent place on this side of the Atlantic, because the reaction expressed is suggestive: « I was not a little diverted [. . .] by the account Lang gives in the last issue of the Journal of the American Musicological Society of how he and some colleagues spoke to A C and conviced him of the error of his ways . . . . . It rather reminds one of the nonsense we hear from Russia when some scholar or composer is taken to task by his colleagues for right-wing deviationism or similar nonsense, and is publicly rebuked. I must confess to finding PHL's remarks in rather bad taste [. . . . .] »

of theoretical treatises and musical monuments of polyphonic art. I can at this moment list the complete works of Dufay (now by Prof. Besseler), Gombert (Prof. Schmidt-Görg), Willaert (Prof. Zenck), Clemens non Papa (Prof. Bernet Kempers), Brumel (myself), all in preparation. Others are at various stages of progress or consideration. Besides complete works, various sources, the Cyprus Manuscript, Machaut's Mass, the Tournai Mass, Le Jeune's Airs, and others are in print, in preparation, or in discussion. Shortly an announcement will present the works in preparation and the plan regarding the *corpus* of treatises, now under the eminent general editorship of Jos. Smits van Waesberghe of Amsterdam.

In order to facilitate our access to original sources (and which was the paramount reason for the transfer of the Institute to Europe) and to facilitate the work of the editors preparing publications for our several series, we have made incredible efforts and incurred huge expenses for assembling a photographic archive which now comprises a notable amount of Mediaeval and Renaissance sources. This collection has been admired and drawn upon by a number of scholars from many countries, including America.

Our Summer Sessions have offered I daresay outstanding courses in Mediaeval and Renaissance musical theory and practice, and have afforded occasion for the performance of a vast amount of music. We are now considering plans for a Winter Seminar for researchers in Mediaeval and Renaissance musical history.

Finally, *Musica Disciplina* has against the greatest odds (not to be imagined by the subscriber) completed three volumes since 1946. *Musica Disciplina* has not filled half its pages with good, bad, and indifferent reviews of good, bad and indifferent books, but has offered its readers research articles and original sources. In very few cases have the articles been interpretive and not strictly the result of original research. This, together with accounts and inventories of newly discovered or famous Mss, has seemed to us — as also to others, including members of the Advisory Board who have written appreciatively — the task of a scholarly and specialized periodical in musicology.

It would seem that only a very personal opinion would pronounce all this not « for American needs », otherwise one should have to ask some simple questions about American musicology.

But the endeavors of the Institute are for Musicology as such and not

for any particular national needs[9]. We have no pretensions, no claims. Let he who will find our work of some good make such use of it as will suit him; he who will not see any use in our endeavors will, let us hope, go his way and leave us go ours in peace.

Florence

Armen Carapetyan

[9] Still, it is gratifying that America has shown a keen interest in our work. Even the communication in question is a reflection, though in confusing light, of this interest.

THE SUMMER CANON AND ITS BACKGROUND

I.

JACQUES HANDSCHIN

Abbreviations: AH. = *Analecta hymnica medii aevi*
AM. = *Archiv fuer Musikwissenschaft*
B. M. = British Museum
CS. = *Scriptorum de musica medii aevi nova series,* ed. E. de Coussemaker, 1864
DTO. = *Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich*
EEH. = *Early English Harmony,* ed. by H. E. Wooldridge, I, 1897
LR. = F. Ludwig, *Repertorium organorum ... et motetorum ...* I 1, 1910, (it is a pity that this monumental work has not been completed by the author nor by his pupils; the published first part of the first volume concerns the Mss. in « square », i. e., modal notation; of the second part (concerning the Mss. in measured notation) the pages 345 to 456 had already been printed, as well as a part of volume II, intended to contain the repertory of the motet tenors and to group the motets by their tenors; thanks to the courtesy of Prof. Besseler I could take cognizance of these unpublished parts)
M. = motetus
Mo. = Montpellier
Ms. = Manuscript
R. = *Repertorium hymnologicum,* by U. Chevalier, 1892 ff.
Riv. = *Rivista musicale italiana*
Ro.Mo. = *Polyphonies du 13-e siècle, Le manuscrit H 196 de la Faculté de Médecine de Montpellier,* publié par Y. Rokseth (we refer to volumes II and III containg the transcription, published in 1936, and volume IV containing the commentaries, published in 1939)
Samm. = *Sammelbaende der Internationalen Musikgesellshaft*
T. = tenor
Tr. = triplum
WMH. = *Worcester Mediaeval Harmony,* ed. by A. Hughes, 1928
ZM. = *Zeitschrift fuer Musikwissenschaft*

Note: For the sake of convenience I represent B natural by *h* and B flat by *b*.

Specialists and non-specialists concerned with the history of English music were probably astir in consequence of a paper by M. F. Bukofzer in *University of California Publications in Music,* II, 1944 under the title « Sumer is icumen in, A revision » which tries to shift the date of the Summer canon to the beginning of the 14th c. and which doubts its Reading provenance. As is known, the established opinion was that the Summer canon was written about 1240 in Reading abbey. A remarkable reply to Bukofzer's paper was that made by J. Schofield, published under the title « The provenance and date of Sumer is icumen in » in *The Music Review,* 1948, which maintains the traditional opinion. Schofield would not exclude the possibility of the Summer canon having been written as late as 1260, but at all events not much later. While Bukofzer leans chiefly upon what he thinks our knowledge about music history to be, Schofield rests on « external » evidence. The general impression of a reader of both papers may, I think, be summarized by saying that the Summer canon, even if postdated to the 14th c., remains rather isolated (e. g., in the Worcester Mss. there is nothing analogous) and, this being the case, I do not think we can afford to disregard any evidence coming from the domain of paleography. It is true that, as to the question of date, such evidence always leaves a certain latitude. For the moment I do not think there can be much paleographical opposition to dating the (original) writing of the canon as of about middle of the 13th c. and we may remember (as does Bukofzer p. 103) that A. J. Ellis has shown the language of an English charter of 1258 as being substantially the same as that of the text of the Summer canon.

I. *THE CONTENTS OF THE MS.; HANDWRITINGS*

I think it is not useless to survey the contents of the entire musical part of the Ms., and even those of the Ms. as a whole. As is known, the musical part is found at the beginning of the Ms. and it extends from fol. 2 to fol. 15 (we follow, of course, the new foliation, however not without expressing regrets about librarians who so often change folio numbers). On fols. 15'-16 is a calendar. The main groups among the further contents are: Medicinalia, fol. 22 ff.; the « Ysope » in French verse, fol. 40 ff.; Latin goliardic poetry, fol. 68'ff; Lais by Marie de France, fol. 118' ff. At the end there is on fols. 160'-161 the list of musical compositions contained in a collection that has been lost.

The calendar is from Reading Abbey and its last *datable* entry from 1226; but since part of the calendar is missing, there could have been subsequent entries in the missing part. Therefore resort has been taken to another Reading calendar, written by the same hand and contained in the Ms. B. M., Cotton Vesp. E V, in which the last contemporary entry is from 1238, while the first addition is from 1261. These were the reasons for dating the calendars as « about 1240 », but, as we see, it could have just as well been said « about 1250 ». At any rate, we need not bother ourselves with the assertion, sometimes lightly made, according to which the calendar of our Ms. would be from 1226 (and the canon by John of Forsete).

As to these points the agreement seems to be general. The question is only that of the relation between the musical part of the Ms. and the calendar. The traditional opinion is that the calendar was written later, and this is supported (although not proved) by the fact that the music ends on the *recto* and the calendar begins on the *verso* of the same leaf (fol. 15). Yet, according to Bukofzer, the calendar would be much earlier. Further, Bukofzer finds no proof for the view that, as was the calendar, so also the music was written at Reading; yet Schofield has strengthened the probability that it was, by identifying some persons named in the list of musical compositions at the end of the Ms. as Reading monks (see below Ch. VI).

It can not be denied that the Ms. was written by different hands, and this is the case even within the musical collection itself. But that does not mean that the latter, and even the Ms. as a whole, is composed of quite heterogeneous things. Let us now review the musical contents. As fols. 2-4', 8'-10 and 11' are reproduced in EEH., pl. 12-17, 18-21 and 22, the reader will for the most part be able to verify easily what we shall say.

I. Fol. 2-4' *Samson, dux fortissime* (R. 33277). A dramatic monody, partially in dialogue form. From the poetical and the musical standpoint it has to be considered as a Latin lai rather than as a sequence (it is true both forms are related). Rather than a sacred or hymnic song it is the celebration of the feat of a hero; many similar compositions must have existed in English secular singing. The same composition occurs in the Ms. Stuttgart Asc. I 95, of the 13th c., on fol. 28 (see LR. 320; this Ms. contains semi-sacred songs of different kinds: tropes, cantiones, motets, etc.; our text was edited in AH. XXI 169 from this source). H. Spanke,

in *Zeitschrift fuer romanische Philologie* LI, 1931, 327, finds the text influenced by some of the « Planctus » of Abelard. The music has the form of lai or estampie rather than that of sequence; for, instead of the regular parallelism of twin members (a a b b c c ....), there is a more varied disposition; the members are often repeated four times, in some cases three times, or even remain unpaired; and members having already appeared occur anew. be it in the same or in a varied form. The scheme may be illustrated as follows:

a a b c b c d d d
a a b c b c d d d d d
e f g c_1 e f g c_1 e f g c_1
h h h h a a a
h h h i i
h h d_1 d_1
k l k l
i i h h
m m
c_2 c_3 c_2 c_3
i_1 c_4
i i_2 i i_2
i_3 i_4 i_3 i_4
b_1 b_1 d_1 d_1
i_1 c_5 i_1 c_5
ri
o o p p c_2 c_5 i_5 c_4
q r s t h h i_1 c_4
n_1 u i_1 c_4
i_6 c_5 i_6 c_5 d_2 d_3
h h v w
h h v w
x x i_6 c_5 i_6 c_5
x_1 x_1 i_5 c_4
n_1 u y z z_1
i_6 c_5 h h
i_1 c_5 i_1 c_5
i_7 i_7 i_8 i_8
z_2 z_2 z_2 z_2

h_1 h_1 h_1 h_1
i_9 c_5 A A
i_1 c_4 n_1 u
As we see, the members standing outside the repetition are: i_1 c_4, n, i_6 c_4, q r s t, i_3 c_4, n_1 u, i_1 c_4, i_6 c_4, n_1 u, y, i_8 c_5, i_9 c_5, i_1 c_4, n_1 u; they function partially as a « musical refrain ». That, certainly cannot be church music.

II. Fol. 4'-6 *Regina clementiae Maria* (R. 17165). The text is hymnic, while the musical form is halfway between sequence and lai. The melodic flavour is distinctly secular. Indeed, that would not be impossible even in a regular sequence; but ours does not seem to have been ever used as such in the Mass. F. J. Mone, *Lateinische Hymnen.* II, 1854, 411, edited the text from a Munich Ms. of the 15th c. where it figures as a rhymed prayer; R. quotes yet another 15th century Ms.

III. Fol. 6-7 *Dum Maria creditur* (not known from elsewhere; not in R.). A song to Mary, as the former. Again the musical form is not that of the regular sequence and the melodic flavour secular. In the text there are passages in the mood of a love song (cf. the end: « Est mihi pallor in ore, Quia non fallor amore »).

IV. Fol. 7-8' *Ave gloriosa virginum regina* (R. 1828, the text in AH.X 89 and XX 170). A widespread and even celebrated song to Mary. Its text is by the famous Parisian poet Philip the Chancellor († 1236) who supplied the composers of the Paris Notre Dame school with many conductus and motet texts. Again the musical form is lai-like, and there exist even French secular lais written to this melody (see the copious and yet incomplete bibliography LR. 255-260). Of course it was not intended as a Mass sequence, although in later times it may have been used as such.

Among the numerous valuable things contained in Ro. Mo. IV is the mention of a dissertation by H. Meylan, an extract of which appeared in *Positions de thèses de l'Ecole des Chartes,* 1927, and which showed that the famous poet Philip who died in 1236 as Chancellor of the Paris church, was not the same as the canon Philippe de Grève who died about 1220. The confusion between them has indeed been general in musicological, and even in philological literature. Accordingly, I wish to rectify paragraph f) in *Acta musicologica* IV, 11, where Philippus cancellarius, appearing in Notre Dame charters, has been confounded with Philippe de Grève but, in opposition to Ro. Mo. IV 50 [8], I do not see which « interpretations » of mine would have been « falsified » by this confusion. It is curious that (as mentioned *Acta* IV, 11) the surname *de Grevia* is given also to one brother of that Petrus succentor who, according to the hypothesis of R.

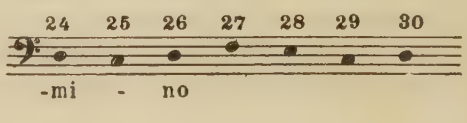
von Ficker, was the composer Perotinus. Therefore it would be legitimate to attribute this surname also to Petrus succentor. Yet that would not imply that Philippe de Grève was a brother of both these. Y. Rokseth may be right in maintaining that the earliest text which mentions Petrus (de Grevia) as succentor is not from 1208 but from 1209 (Ro. Mo. IV 50), but that does not prevent the same Petrus, without this title, from appearing in a charter of 1208 (see *Acta* IV, 10). — As to the hypothesis identifying Perotinus with Petrus succentor — which I left open in the paper quoted — I think the argument opposed to it in Ro.Mo. IV 50f. is plausible and we must rather suppose the composer to have occupied a less exalted post as, e. g., that of *Magister cantus* (which would not exclude the other hypothesis of R. von Ficker according to which Perotinus was the « cantor matutinorum » charged in 1198 with the preparation of the nocturnal responsories for Circumcision).

V. Fol. 8'-9. There follows an item which is seemingly heterogeneous but in reality akin to the rest: three pieces of instrumental and, of course, secular music in two parts. They are in fact estampies (s. ZM. XII 7 f.; why they are termed dances by J. Wolf, who edited them in AM.I, 19-21, I can not see),

VI. Fol. 9'-10. Another polyphonic composition: the three-part motet *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris* (R. 1827, text AH.XX, 184; cf. LR. 180 and F. Ludwig in AM.V, 276f.; new editions of this motet may be found in H. Anglès' *El codex musical de Las Huelgas,* 1931, N. 101, and in Ro. Mo. N. 53). Again a song to Mary.

As has been pointed out (ZM.X, 1928, 516f.), this motet occupies a special place in the history of the motet: it is one of the earliest specimens in which a liturgical melody, or a part of it, is not reproduced exactly in the T., but paraphrased — a procedure which spread more widely in the 15th c. (!). Since another early motet of this kind is of English origin (Mo. 8, 339, see ZM.XIV, 57f. and below, p.) and since ours occurs in an English Ms. which is probably earlier than the other extant Mss., this motet might very possibly be also of English provenance.

In ZM. X, 516f. I have paralleled the T. melody with the *domino* part of a *Benedicamus domino*. The part of the liturgical melody adduced there was only that corresponding to the syllable *do-*. That may have been sufficient for showing where the melodic motives of the T. came from. Yet if writing it again I should prefer to add the other syllables:



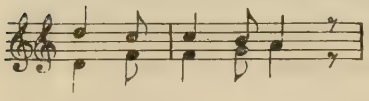
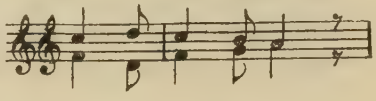
and, in this perspective, we should see that the groups 7-8 and 27-28 of the T. are related not only to the passages indicated there, but also to the notes 26-30 and 27-30 as given above. But I must add another observation. As is known, this *Benedicamus domino* has the same melody as the words *flos filius ejus* in the responsory *Stirps Jesse* and it is even derived from there. Now I think that the composer of our motet had in mind the *ejus* from this responsory rather than the corresponding *domino,* because the responsory is devoted to Mary as is the text of the motet. Moreover there is a parallel between our motet (which stands in Mo. as 4,53) and Mo. 4,72 (the latter also being possibly English, see below, p.): Mo. 4,72 has in the upper voices two different texts addressed to Mary, while the T., marked with *Flos filius,* takes also some liberties with the liturgical melody *flos filius ejus* (it is true these liberties are not comparable to the paraphrasing used in our motet, cf. Ro.Mo.. IV 204; I should say that the T. of Mo. 4,72 is: *fios filius ejus,* plus *-us ejus* in which five notes are dropped, plus *-us ejus* in which three notes are altered, and the close is somewhat extended). The reason why the T. of our motet is marked *domino* and not *ejus* in Mo. 4,53, was probably that it had come from England to France without indication of the T. source (as it is in our Ms.), and in the latter country the indication was appended.

Our motet has still another distinctive feature. Its text, since it follows the scheme a a b b ..., has sequence form, while the melody of the M. (the next voice above the T.) does not conform to this scheme (a fact already noticed by LR. 180), and the T. contains twice a paraphrase of the given melody. Ludwig has expressed the opinion that the original form of the composition is the one contained in the Ms. W_2 where the T. is lacking and the Tr. (the uppermost voice) is different from that of our version (as also from that of other versions). This was doubted by me, ZM.X, 517, but Ludwig repeated his assertion in Adler's *Handbuch*², 263. Now I think a formal analysis of the M. melody suffices for showing that, although it is not in sequence or lai form, yet this type of form appears through it. Here follows the scheme of the M. melody, established independently of any preconceived theory. (I am however conscious that it is impossible to present the intricate texture of melodic affinities by blunt letters alone).

I	a	b	a_1	c	d beginning as a	e similar to b	f beginning as b	g similar to e and c
II	h	c_1	f_1	i	k	b	h_1	g_1 similar to i

III h_2	l	h_3	i_1	h_4	m	b_1	c
	similar to b						
IV a_1	c_2	n	i_1	c_3	c_2	o	h_5
		similar to m		similar to a_1			

We see there appears an analogy between the halves of strophes within I (verses 1 and 5, 2 and 6, 4 and 8) and IV (verses 1 and 5, 2 and 6), but also in III (verses 1 and 5) and II (verses 4 and 8). If within IV the correspondence between 1 and 5 is not complete, that may result from the difference contained in the T., since

 is answered by 

I shall not assert that the supposed original was in strict sequence form (aa bb cc dd); it may have approached lai form (in fact there are also melodic analogies within the half of the strophe, which point to fourfold repetition). We must further note the frequent recurrence of the cadence with tone repetition, favourite in sequence as in lai, which supports the probability that a melody of this kind was the source of the M. I think that we may take these two features — the transparency of this structure in the M. and the paraphrasing of a given melody in the T. — as one explaining the other, both depending upon the fitting together of two preexisting melodic patterns. It is true that, strictly speaking, the alteration of one *or* the other, the presumed lai melody in the M. or the liturgical in the T., would have sufficed for bringing both into agreement.

As to motets in which two noted preexisting melodies are combined see below, p. and (these motets may also be English, the first of them being probably from the late 13th and the other, from late 13th or early 14th c.).

In order to find other examples of « double paraphrasing » we must again turn to the 15th c. R. von Ficker in *Studien zur Musikwissenschaft* XI, 1924, has shown the probability that in the *Credo* of an English composer (DTO. XXXI No. 49) not only the T. twice contains the antiphon melody *Alma redemptoris* (treating it freely), but that the Tr. goes back also to an unknown melody which appears twice in paraphrased form. Then, I think I have shown in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XXI, 1930, that in Dunstable's motet *Ascendit Christus* not only does the T. reproduce the *Alma redemptoris* melody partially ornamented, but in the upper voices the antiphon *Ascen-*

dit (not contained in the present-day Gregorian repertory) constitutes a background that has been paraphrased.

I see that in the commentary to DTO. XL, where this Dunstable motet has since been edited, it is stated in a rather summary way, that my transcription from bar 11 onward is wrong. I readily concede that in the first of my quotations (p. 75f., from bar 12 to 18) the bar-line must be shifted by one crotchet to the left, but that is all; and as to the second quotation I should prefer to insert before the long final chord a bar of four time-units, as I have done, than to let this chord with the final syllable fall on the second crotchet as done in DTO. It seems that the commentary to this edition concedes merely that I have ascertained the origin of the text *Ascendit Christus* but not that the melody of this antiphon was also made use of. Indeed scepticism has been expressed in this respect also by other writers; there may be an occasion in the future for investigating in a general way the foundations upon which such assertions (*pro* and *contra*) are based.

The T. of our motet is peculiar still in another respect: it forms its rhythmical periods quite in accordance with those of the M., every period consisting of four ternary bars and being equal to one verse of the text, whereas the classical procedure is to shape the M. periods independently of those of the T., the latter being rigidly regular, the former irregular, and « bridging » mostly the incisions of the T. The general construction of the T. also conforms to that of the M., since the T. has twin structure (cf. groups 1-16 and 17-32 in the scheme ZM. X, 561 f.), corresponding precisely to the transition to shorter verses and shorter rhythmic periods in the middle of the M.; (we could further note affinities in the scheme ZM. X, 516f. between the T. groups 17-18 and 21-23, 20 and 24, 25-26 and 29-30, corresponding to affinities between the *halves* of strophe III and those of IV — affinities which, however, appear only partially in the M. melody). Thus our motet as a whole exhibits sequence or estampie structure in varied form.

Another curious feature is that the T. has not only been separately noted after the upper voices, as normally, but also under them in score form, and that with the manifest intention that it should be sung to the same text as that of the upper voices — a feature pointing to the well-known English inclination to full vocal sonority. The motet, in this form, is similar to a conductus, to describe it using terms of the times, but with the difference that in the conductus the T. melody in not taken from plain-chant. Yet it is evident that this was a later arrangement, for in order to adapt the T. to this aim, its long notes have been split up, but only beginning with the second line. The fact that the T. was written down a second time may mean that it was simultaneously played by an instrument with the voices; (however it is curious that there are discrepancies between the two versions of the T., that one noted beneath the M. and that written separately;

in such case nearly always the latter version is the correct one and, moreover, in conformity with other Mss.). We may find that this arrangement of the T. only accentuates a feature inherent in it, i. e., the concordance between its structure and that of the upper voices, since it was, even before being transformed in a conductus, a motet approaching conductus in its structure. (It is interesting that in a Beauvais Ms. another motet is also in score with the text of the upper voices written beneath the T., yet the T. notes are not split up in accordance, cf. L.R. 242; as to a similar case see below, p.). Here we may observe that the notion of the conductus-like motet was introduced already by Ludwig, Samm. V, 219, but there in application to the coexistence of melismatic and syllabic parts, whereas H. Besseler, AM. VIII, 179, applies it to the structural similarity of all the voices, i. e., to simultaneity of period closes. Indeed both features are in the nature of conductus technique and, as I have several times observed, the tendency to hybrid structural types has manifested itself often in England (dealing with the Ms. W_1 in *The Musical Times* 1932 ad 1933 I noted some intermediate forms between « Choralbearbeitung » = plainchant arrangement and conductus).

After what we have seen, it is difficult to doubt that the M. and T. were composed (or fitted) together, and we can not agree with Ludwig's opinion that the oldest version is the one contained in W_2 where, as we have said, the T. is omitted and the uppermost voice differs from ours; (incidentally, no reason has been given for this opinion). When we look at this two-part version (reproduced in H. Anglès' Huelgas edition, as addition to N. 101), we come even to doubt whether the composition is complete, since fourths are plentiful in it, and there are also consecutive unisons and dissonances. The omission of the T. may perhaps be explained by the fact that it is not a purely liturgical melody, or that it is a melody the liturgical source of which was unknown; was, then, the new upper voice of W_2 composed with regard to a T. which has been lost?

The attitude of Y. Rokseth towards this question is somewhat hesitant. In Ro.Mo. IV, 205 she concedes that our motet may be English; but on p. 196 she says that W_2 may represent the oldest version; and on p. 92 she thinks again that Mo. 4,53 may have been *transformed* into a conductus in W_2.

But leaving the enigmatical version of W_2 aside and comparing our version with that contained in Mo., Bamberg and Huelgas, we still have the question of whether the Tr. of our version or that contained in the other three Mss. is the older. H. Anglès in his commentary to Huelgas N. 101 argues for the latter, without adducing reasons, but this does not seem probable. In our version the Tr. has the same rhythm as the M. (and the tenor in its modified form), while the Tr. in Mo. etc., opposes the

sixth mode ( ) to the first mode ( ) of the M., which of course implies a separate text. Now I am not an adherent of the view that the simpler must always be the older. Yet in this case there is something unnatural in the version which combines differents rhythms. The acceleration of movement, as it is generated in the middle of our version by the transition from periods of four to periods of three bars, is frustrated in its effect, and that seems rather awkward, for the skipping movement of the Tr. does not counterbalance the heavy, monotonous pace of the two lower voices. In a word, we have the impression that a three-part composition designed on other, simpler lines was subjected in a schematical way to continental, i. e., French, methods of motet composition.

We must further note that (as Ludwig has established) there appears in continental sources another two-part form of our motet in which not the T. but the Tr. has been omitted (which seems more natural); this version also occurs in two forms: in one case the T. is written as a normal motet T., in the other it is associated with the M. text, as in our version. To Ludwig's references we may even add that the M. melody alone occurs in the Ms. Donaueschingen 882 (a processional written probably for Dominican nuns at the end of the 13th c.) on fol. 117' among a selection of regular Marian sequences. This is curious, for the melody does not exhibit sequence form; evidently it had, in spite of its polyphonic adjustment, preserved enough attractiveness to be sung in unison.

We have seen that as a whole our motet is a polyphonic illustration of sequence or lai form; and in this sense it is a counterpart to the instrumental compositions which precede it in the Ms. Here we must realize that the formal principle of sequence, lai or estampie is one which links secular with spiritual music; having its origins probably within the secular, it appears particularly in the field where the secular and spiritual border upon each other. In this connection we must further note that in our Ms. (and in this alone) this composition has under the Latin text the Norman-French *Duce creature,* written by the same hand, but in red ink; without being a translation proper, it is also a praise of Mary.

VII. Fol. 10'-11. *Felix sanctorum chorus eximius apostolorum,* on the twelve apostles (not in R., not known elsewhere), again in unison. This time we have the regular sequence form (aa bb cc dd ee) yet, as to text contents, it is a spiritual song in a wider sense (something like conductus or *cantio*) rather than liturgical; by the way there was not

even a feast for which it could have been destined. As a kind of appendix to this there follow on fol. 11 twelve hexameters on the apostles, without music (*Petrus Romanis...*).

VIII. Fol. 11'. Our canon, termed here as « rota », with English secular text *Sumer is icumen in* and beneath it the Latin spiritual text *Perspice christicola* (R. 14854), written by the same hand in red ink (the beginning of the Latin text is evidently a reminiscence of the Easter sequence *Fulgens praeclara,* which addresses *Judea incredula* with the words *Perspice christicolas;* as to contents, our Latin text is also related to the Easter idea). As is known, it is a canon for four voices (to be sung, as the rubric says, by two voices at least), plus two voices singing the « pes » or T. which is repeated ostinato-like and interchanges voices in accordance with the scheme $\begin{matrix} b\ a\ b\ a\ ... \\ a\ b\ a\ b\ ... \end{matrix}$ (its text being *Sing cuccu* etc.). We shall note that this device yields a varied binary repetition in the « pes » which could be denoted as a a_1 a a_1..., every member containing four ternary bars (or two double bars). The upper voices are also divided in periods of four bars, as it was the case in the motet on fol. 9'.

IX. Fol. 12-13. *Aeterni numinis mater et filia* (R. 22675 and 663, the text AH. XXXVII 72), a song to Mary in regular sequence form (aa bb cc dd ee). It is to be found also in Cambridge University Library add. 710 fol. 107', a troper of the 14th c., and in two Spanish Mss. of the 13th and 14th centuries.

It is N. 55 in H. Anglès, *El codex musical de Las Huelgas.* In his commentary the editor states that the melody, as found in our Ms., differs from that of the Spanish Mss., as also does that of the Cambridge Ms.; he seems to state implicitely that the melody in our Ms. differs from that of the Cambridge Ms. Yet I do not see why he considers the version of the Spanish Mss. as the oldest. At any rate our Ms. seems to me earlier than both Spanish Mss., i. e., Huelgas which is 14th c. and in measured notation (the editor calls it « notació modal »), and Barcelona Orfeo, written in square (or modal) notation in the later 13th c.

X. Fol. 13. *Ante thronum regentis omnia* (not in R., not known elsewhere), a song about Thomas of Canterbury in regular sequence form. Thomas of Canterbury who was murdered in 1179, was a theme in which ecclesiastical circles in England were much interested.

XI. Fol. 13'. *Gaude, salutata virgo* (R. 27126, text AH.XL 83), a song to Mary in regular sequence form occurring also in Cambridge Univ. Libr. add. 710 fol. 109' and, without music, in a later Oxford Ms.

At the lower margin of fol. 13' we have yet a prayer which completes *Gaude, salutata,* just as the prayer completes the antiphon in a commemoration.

* * *

Therewith the proper of the musical compositions ends. It is interesting that they are all in modal ternary rhythm, both those written in a definitely measured notation and those only tentatively measured or unmeasured (we shall return to these notational divergences). As to the unmeasured compositions we gather the presence of modal rhythm from the fact that syllables carrying two or three notes are in every case so distributed as to coincide with the *long* note of the modal formula.

Fol. 14 has a solmisation scheme with a musical example added; in the latter *b* and *h* alternate very frequently, evidently for illustrating the passage of « b » from the *fa* to the *mi* quality (A. Hughes-Hughes in his Catalogue of manuscript music in the B.M.III, 283 is wrong in assuming that this music is in two parts). Fol. 14' proceeds with musical theory. There is the rule *Est tonus sic: ut re...* expounding the musical intervals, furnished with melody and therefore destined to be sung (this occurs also in B. M. Landsowne 763 fol. 54 and in Bamberg, Lit. 115, fol. 75'). On fol. 15 the same subject is treated in ordinary prose (*Tonus dicitur a tonando...,* with musical examples), but in this version the last sentence and the corresponding example are lacking. Fol. 15' follows the Reading calendar, etc.

* * *

Now we must consider the distribution of handwritings in our musical document. There is one main hand, by whom the canon is written, and also the majority of the other items. Another hand, writing the letters more angularly and therefore probably later, is responsible for the rubrics of the two-part instrumental compositions (fol. 8'-9); yet it is improbable that the latter should be written later than the preceding and the following compositions, because in this case not only the lower part of fol. 8' but the whole *recto* of fol. 9 would have been originally blank; therefore the rubrics might be written later than the music itself. Now three items remain to be classified, namely, the last three compositions. *Aeterni numinis* (fol. 12) might still be from the main hand; it is true, its initials are longer

and narrower, but that may be due to the desire for economizing space. The last two items, *Ante thronum* (fol. 13) and *Gaude salutata* (fol. 13') were, I believe, written by other hands; yet the writing of *Ante thronum* is very similar to the main hand, und that of *Gaude salutata* also can not be much later. The theoretical items on fol. 14-15 seem to be from the second half of 13th. c.

I regret not having at hand a photograph of the calendar (fol. 15'-16) which is, according to Bukofzer, earlier, but according to paleographical authorities, later than the music collection (see above, p. 57). As to the other contents of the Ms. mentioned above (p. 56), I do not think there is a doubt that they are, at least in part, later than the music and the calendar, and that they extend into the 14th c. But they are still in a relation to the music collection. I am thinking especially of the goliardic poetry, which was of course musical poetry, and of the lais. Norman French occurs here, as in the music; Thomas of Canterbury is sung of on fol. 90', as on fol. 13, and he recurs once more on fol. 116 in a French prose tale. Apart from the calendar, the Medicinalia, and the list of musical compositions at the end of the Ms., we can say that the whole could serve for the entertainment of a community like Reading. We must remember that goliardic poetry, like the art of minstrels, was favourably admitted at least in the cloister court, sometimes even intruding into the church: and our music collection illustrates by its general character precisely the union of the secular and the spiritual.

Now within our music collection we can discern a gradation roughly coinciding with the distribution of handwriting, as it appears to us: 1) the compositions in which the secular affinities are more apparent; of course they are most apparent in *Samson dux,* the instrumental pieces and the canon, but also the affinities to lai and estampie have to be taken into account; this group corresponds to our first hand (except the rubrics of the instrumental pieces); 2) the compositions exhibiting regular sequence form and being more markedly spiritual, although not intended as liturgical sequences; these would correspond to the « other hands » (though one of them, *Felix sanctorum* on fol. 10', is already written by the « first hand »). We see that the stratum with more marked religious character is the later; however already the first hand engaged in spiritualizing by providing the Summer canon with a Latin text. At any rate the distance between both strata can not be considerable. The compositions of the first group are in general lighter in their rhythmic movement; in those of the second

group we find syllables carrying several notes more frequently (see above, p. 67).

II. *THE NOTATION*

There has been much discussion about the two phases of musical notation that appear in our canon. But these two phases appear also in several of the other compositions and here again it will be good to view the subject as a whole. In so far as notice has been taken of these alterations (e. g., by Rockstro and Wooldridge in relation to the canon, by LR. 259 in relation to *Ave gloriosa virginum regina*), there is agreement that they were effected not long after the original notation was written. Yet nothing precise has been advanced in this respect and I see no reason why we ought not to consider the alterations as dating from the second half or even the end of the 13th c. (assuming that the first stage of the notation is from the middle of that century).

Even in *Samson dux* the notation was altered, as may be seen in the facsimile. The main change is that *caudae* (descending strokes) affixed to squares and effecting square *virgae* were erased and rhombs (lozenges) were transformed into squares with *caudae* (= square *virgae*); the latter can be verified even in the facsimile, because in this case the bottom side of the square is not horizontal but inclined (as for instance in the twelfth note from the beginning). Since the squares which show no *caudae* seem to have their *caudae* erased in nearly every case, the original notation must have been nearly exclusively lozenges and square *virgae*. That we can call « English square notation », as it is the equivalent of continental square notation which proceeds by squares without *caudae* and square *virgae* and intermixes lozenges only when there are more than one and when in descending they combine with a preceding square *virga* to a ligature (or rather conjuncture). Evidently the difference between English and continental square notation is purely graphical. Whether a lozenge as in the former, or a square as in the latter, its meaning is that of « punctum » as against « virga », i. e. it is essentially the relatively lower note. Indeed there is a tendency in the pen to confer to the lower note a rhomboid form, and we can say that English copyists gave way to this tendency more freely, while continental writers did so only when the *puncta* were leaning to a preceding *virga;* (however square notation with squares was also in great vogue in England, and on the other hand we could cite

many examples of « English » square notation written in France or in Switzerland).

Now square notation, when representing a melody in « modal » rhythm, is *eo ipso* « modal » notation, for it is the characteristic of a modal notation which is not yet mensural that it has no external signs distinguishing it from non-modal square notation. In this sense we must say that the original notation of *Samson dux* was modal, for the melody and the verse fit very well into modal rhythm, predominantly the first mode. The alterations mentioned above were clearly intended to bring about measured notation: measured notation of a kind, in which the square without *cauda* as well as the rhomb is Brevis and the square with *cauda* is Longa (whereas in « normal » measured notation only the square without *cauda* is Brevis and the lozenge is reserved for Semibrevis). The « reformer » of the notation has more or less succeeded in his aim, and the notation has been measured nearly throughout, except of course the ligatures which, as is known, remained non-mensural some time after single notes were already measured. What he gave us is just « English measured notation » as LR. 259 has termed it. However, as intimated, not all the Breves are represented by lozenges, part of them having been produced by erasing the *caudae* of square *virgae,* and therefore it is probable that the scribe had an idea also of « normal » measured notation. The manner in which he proceeds is, in the whole, experimental and tentative rather than orthodox and systematical. As to the way in which he interpretes the modal rhythm implied in the original notation, I am not at all sure that he is a reliable guide in all the cases when the choice of modal formula might raise some doubts.

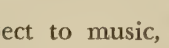
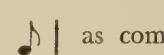
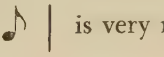
I regret not to be in agreement with Monsignore H. Anglès as to the use of the term « English measured notation ». Ludwig defined it very clearly (LR. 259 and AM. V 273f.) and we can take it as being in the same relation to what we could call « English square notation », as is continental measured to continental square notation. Yet Anglès, in a paper entitled « La musica anglesa dels segles XIII-XIV als paisos hispanics » (*Analecta Sacra Tarraconensia* 1935, 232) applies the term « English measured notation » to an anomaly occurring in a Spanish Ms. of the 14th c., an anomaly which Ludwig only associatively mentioned apropos of his « English measured notation ». Furthermore Anglès believes this anomaly to occur also in two Kyries contained in an English Ms. of the 14th c. (B. M. Arundel 14, fol. 34' and 35'); but there I find only normal measured notation with, it is true, a rather extensive application of « imperfectio ».

The next song, *Regina clementiae,* has not been « reformed » in its notation and therefore presents « English square notation », in our case again « modal ». The same applies to *Dum Maria creditur. Ave gloriosa virginum regina* has again been « reformed » in the sense as *Samson.* It is true that in the opinion of LR. 259 the first stage of its notation was irregularly measured and the second is measured notation regularly carried through. But the latter statement is just a little too optimistic, and as to the former, I think it is inspired by the fact that lozenges are in a few cases *not* the relatively lower note, which, however, does not seem to me a sufficient reason for drawing this conclusion.

Now come the instrumental compositions in two parts which we considered as written by a second (but contemporary) hand. Bukofzer lays much stress not only upon the difference of hand but the difference of notation, the latter being purely modal without mensural features. But as the compositions are without words and consequently written in ligatures, there is no fundamental difference: we have seen that the ligatures remained non-mensural also in those pieces whose notation was « reformed ».

Next, we have the three-part motet *Ave gloriosa mater salvatoris,* written again by the main hand. This is again « non-reformed » modal notation, « English » in so far as it consists mainly of rhombs and square *virgae.* So also *Felix sanctorum.* Now we come to our problematical *canon* on fol. 11', in fact the last composition in which the notation has been altered (thus we see that these alterations concern only compositions written by the first hand); the rest have remained unmeasured.

In the canon we are faced with the transformation of lozenges into square *virgae* (i. e., squares with *caudae).* This has occurred already in *Samson dux,* but in the canon no *caudae* of *virgae* seem to have been erased. In fact the original notation consisted apparently of 1) rhombs, 2) one conjuncture above the seventh syllabe, 3) square *virgae* standing at such places where they could be preserved in the opinion of the « reformer », that is, where they stood for Longae. The state of original notation as given by Wooldridge (I 329 f.) and Bukofzer (p. 87) can not be doubted as principle, and the question is only to choose either the interpretation of Wooldridge, who explained it as square or modal notation, or that of Bukofzer (and already Riemann) who takes it as measured. I think we can safely choose the latter (the more so as Bukofzer adduces another specimen of this kind of notation in the Ms. Bodleian Hatton 30, and we shall yet add another).

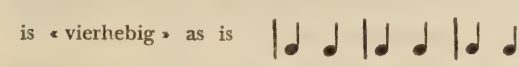
In this case the « reformer » would not have transformed unmeasured into measured notation, but measured of a special type into normal (English normal). The very fact that we have only few specimens of this special type of measured notation points to a state of things where mensuralization was at its beginnings. In this type, then, the lozenges are Breves and the squares with *caudae* Longae. And I think we must accept the further assumption of (Riemann and) Bukofzer that these Breves were equal and the rhythm binary. Accordingly, in this case there would be not only a « reform » of notation but also change of rhythm. This change having been effected, the music of our collection was uniform as to modal rhythm; and that fits into the tendency, noticed above, of « spiritualizing », for binary rhythm seems to have been considered as secular. However, we must not overrate the significance of this change in respect to music, because  as compared with  or  is very much like a differentiation, that in practice admits even of transitions. As to the question why only in this case measured notation was adopted already in the first stage, we may assume the reason to have been precisely, that it was a musical item not fitting into the normal rhythmical system. Accordingly I should not quite exclude the possibility that our canon stood side by side with the other compositions written by the « first hand » already in the Ms. from which it was taken over.

I wish to express my thanks to Mr. Th. R. Dart, of Cambridge, who has taken the pains of examining once more the erasures and corrections effected in the notation of the canon. According to him the note above the 12th syllable was originally square with *cauda,* not rhomb (otherwise it would have been an error of the scribe). As to the corrections in the fourth line of the Ms., see below, p. 88.

III. *THE QUESTION OF BINARY RHYTHM*

Thus we have returned to the binary rhythm of H. Riemann who, in substance, took the distinction of lozenges and tailed squares in the original notation as mensural (Handbuch I 2,216). The difference between Riemann's and Bukofzer's conception is mainly that according to the former, binary rhythm suggests great antiquity, while according to the latter it is impossible before the beginning of the 14th c.

As Riemann has been mentioned, I must say that I can not agree with the terminological opposition, so often established, between « modal rhythm » and « Vierhebigkeit », the latter being represented as a system essentially implying binary rhythm. « Vierhebigkeit » means four accents or four beats and

is « vierhebig » as is  , while

would not at all be « vierhebig ». I can only concede that there is a practical relationship between « Vierhebigkeit » and binary rhythm in so far as those who have spoken of the former have generally supposed the latter, while those who have spoken of modal rhythm have used *Vierhebigkeit* not so much explicity as implicitly. But as said before, the difference between binary and modal is, in respect to musical reality, not so radical as has often been assumed.

We have now to face the question whether binary rhythm is so highly improbable at the time when the canon was probably written, as Bukofzer thinks. He fixes his eye upon the normal (and mainly continental) evolution of measured notation. Here indeed the binary division of Longa occurs not before the late 13th c. and it is recognized by theory only at the beginning of the 14th. But no less than as the outgrowth of a longlasting logical evolution, our case can be considered as an early experiment. Indeed there is nothing like « Ars nova » in the rhythm of our canon, « Ars nova » being in rhythmical respect much more differentiated. The fact that England was, in the perspective of « linear » historiography, always « behind » the continental evolution does not exclude that she could take initiatives of her own; indeed in our case there is nothing « progressive » than the graphic distinction of Longae and Breves. It is true there are French compositions dating from the middle of the 13th c. still written in « modal » notation (the St. Victor collection, see Bukofzer p. 81; by the way I can not agree with classifying F, among the other Notre Dame Mss., in the second half of the 13th c., as it is distinctly earlier). But history is not a « linear » process; even in the field of notation there has always been much overlapping and it is not even settled that the higher level of musical art was always parallel with a more « advanced » notation (we can for instance, as concerns the St. Victor Ms., assume that the musicians of this school, being the heirs of the great Notre Dame tradition, were proud not to avail themselves of modern « facilities »). In fact I see no reason why the original notation of our canon could

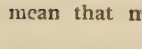
not be contemporary with those large unmeasurd French collections and, then, earlier than the English unmeasured Ms. W_1. It may be that, in this case, it is the earliest practical specimen of mensural notation we possess. But the earliest preserved treatises of mensural notation are from nearly the same epoch (say, middle of the 13th c.) and they are more « advanced » in so far as they teach exclusively ternary measure and they know already the value of the Semibrevis.

It is, at any rate, highly improbable that binary rhythm was « discovered » only at the epoch when it came to be represented in the writing of learned music (as in some of the later motets in Mo. and Bamberg) and to be recognized by theory. The question is only of its temporary banishment from learned music; yet as it is the most simple and obvious, it is impossible that it did not exist simultaneously in some « lower » sphere. I think this assumption is not mere « romanticism », as was, e. g., Riemann's assumption that in the sphere of non-learned music the consonance of third has always been more prominent than that of fourth or fifth: the difference is that binary rhythm is psychologically the most simple, while the consonance of the third and sixth, though so attractive to Western people from a certain epoch onwards, is by its essence less obvious than that of the fifth or fourth.

There is in the work of an English theorist, *Walter Odington,* written about 1300, a passage which points to the use of binary division of the Longa by the « former organists » (i. e., singers and composers of polyphonic music), CS. I, 235b. This passage has had a thorny career in modern musicology. H. Riemann (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie* ²182 f.) took it as having a real (rhythmical) significance, as also J. Wolf (*Handbuch der Notationskunde* I 210); but others have strongly opposed this conception and have maintained that only the Longa of the first (and second) mode is meant, which comprises two time units in *ternary* rhythm, while in third (and fourth) mode it comprises three (also in ternary rhythm).

I confess to have wavered about this point, following first the conception of Riemann and Wolf and making afterwards concessions to that of the « moderns ». Yet it is difficult to dismiss the former. Against this it has been argued that the first (and second) mode must be older than the third (and fourth), and that Odington's statement would precisely agree with this, as it would mean that the Longa became ternary when musicians went on to use the third (and fourth) mode. But I see no reason for assuming that the first (and second) mode were older than the third (and fourth), apart from the mere fact that they are enumerated thus in theoretical nomenclature; at any rate the third mode (ternary) is common in Notre Dame music already 100 years before Odington. I think it is more plausible to take Odington's statement as it is expressed, to mean the transition from binary to ternary rhythm; there is moreover an

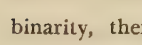
analogy which points in this direction, as Odington says in the same passage CS. I, 235b that the binary division of the *Brevis* has preceded its ternary division, and here it is evidently the *same* type of Brevis which was measured first binarily and afterwards ternarily, i. e., it is not a question of opposing different categories of Breves.

But there is the further question whether a general transition from binary to ternary rhythm is meant, or whether is it only assumed that third (and fourth) mode changed from to If the first has to be assumed, it would mean that not only the old form of the third mode was  , instead of , but also the old form of the first mode was , instead of — « undifferentiated » instead of « differentiated »; in this case first and third mode would actually be confounded, there would be no opposition of rhythmic patterns and the idea of mode would disappear. That this was not Odington's meaning follows from a strict interpretation of the comparison with « metres » which he draws in our passage: « the Longa comprised only two units with old organists, as it happens in *metres* ». Of course the long syllable is binary in trochee (and iambic), as it is in dactyle (and anapaest), the measure or rhythm being ternary in the first case and binary in the latter. Odington has especially in mind the latter, as in another passage (CS. I, 241a, see below) where he is referring to his previous remarks, he speaks expressly of third and fourth modes and of dactyle and anapaest. It is therefore probable that the old system, precisely as that of metrics, reconciled ternary measure in the first (and second) mode and binary in the third (and fourth). Consequently it is quite possible that when the oldest of preserved treatises about mensural notation, the *Discantus positio vulgaris* (CS. I, 94b), considers Longae of more than two time units as « ultra mensuram », this is but the remnant of a conception assigning to the Longa two units in third, as in first mode.

I am conscious that with this interpretation I depart from a tendency to take Odington's statement too generally, a tendency to which I once gave way; I no longer maintain the interpretation of « in metris » as « in compositions with rhythmical text » given 25 years ago (ZM. VI, 548). Yet the error of generalizing is in this case not so momentous, for the field of the third (and fourth) mode is actually more extended than we should at first sight think: equivalents being always possible,

is as much third binary mode as

and as much fourth as

and although we should not like to see all the rhythms fuse to indistinct binarity, there is yet a tendency of assimilating and 

to . In fact it is a system intermediary to both non-modal and modal and we could designate it as « metrical ».

We have yet to mention that Odington returns to this subject when, speaking of third and fourth mode, he says (CS. I, 241a) that the Longa in these is composed of three time units and the Brevis of one or two, « although I said above that the Longa in metres has only two *tempora,* because it is sometimes allowed to protract the long syllable in conformity with the voice (?), and you must also remember that not every polyphonic song is set to a verse text » (« in carmine », which would indicate that Odington had in mind compositions set to a rhythmical text).

In a third passage (CS. I, 245a, I mean the passage in the lower, not in the upper part of this column; I have referred to it in ZM. XIV, 55, cf. Bukofzer, p. 91) Odington says that even in his time the Longa was divided by some into two halves, as a note comprising two time units. That would, of course, be meaningless if referring to the first and second modes, and therefore it confirms our interpretation of the first passage. This would mean that old (archaic) practices continued to exert an influence at the beginning of the 14th c., at the time when elsewhere, in a sphere rhythmically so « progressive » as that of Philippe de Vitry, binary measure obtained a recognition by principle.

It will perhaps be not out of place to give here the reproduction of the passages quoted from Odington as they stand in the Ms., for Coussemaker's transcription is not reliable (yea alas! the Ms. itself is also not in good order). The first, CS. I, 235b, runs: « Longa autem apud priores organistas duo tantum habuit tempora, sic (probably *sicut* is intended) in metris; sed postea ad perfectionem ducitur, ut sit trium temporum .... diciturque longa hujusmodi (this word is illegible in the photograph) perfecta, illa vero quae tantum duo habet tempora, dicitur imperfecta » (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 410 fol. 30'). CS. 241a (fol. 32-32' of the Ms.): « Iste modus transit in tertium imperfectum, si pausa longa auferatur, et tertius in .|. (primum?), si duae breves pausae demantur (something must be wrong here). Nec est inconveniens scil. tertio et quarto; longa est trium temporum et altera brevis duorum, licet prius dictum sit longam in metris duorum esse temporum, quia syllabam longam licitum est quantumcuque protrahere voci aptata (aptatam?); et similiter non omnis cantus organicus est in carmine ». CS. 245a, below (fol. 33'-34): « Alii autem in his modis (the third and fourth) utuntur longis et brevibus ac semibrevibus et pausis (here we must insert *non)* secundum quod ego accipio, sed tantum dividunt longam in duas breves, ut duo tempora habentem, et brevem in duas semibreves et raro in tres (cf. what we shall quote from R. de Handlo as to *more lascivo);* et pro longa duo spatia occupat pausa, pro brevi unum ».

The question is, of course, how to substantiate Odington's statement by historical examples. We can not overlook the fact that our Harleian collection is not unsuitable for that purpose, as it presents on the one hand binary fourth mode in equivalent form in the canon, on the other ternary first mode in polyphonic and homophonic items. It is true, the question could be raised whether Odington has in view the representation of Brevis by rhomb, characteristic of « English measured notation », and to this me must answer that, as a normal mensural theorist, he teaches us to indicate the Brevis by a square; but that does not matter, as the former use was

probably viewed as a purely graphical feature (I should not, as does Bukofzer p. 108, look for the passage CS. I, 244a to illustrate « English measured notation », because Odington speaks in this chapter of ligatures and consequently the rhomboid figures mentioned in this connection must refer to conjunctures; and the same applies to the passage CS. I, 245a which could be adduced here; the fact that the rhombs are in both disposed not in descending order but horizontally, according to fol. 33' of the Ms., is probably due to negligence of the scribe).

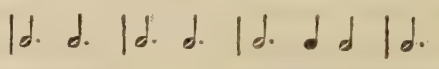
If not satisfied with this illustration of « metrical » rhythmics, we could perhaps go back to St. Martial polyphony in which binary rhythm seems to obtain some right, or even to tropes and sequences of the Ms. Paris lat. 1118 in which binary third and fourth mode, in the larger sense, are clearly represented by differentiating the Aquitanian punctum as short and long. Yet we can not enter into questions so far reaching. We shall only add, with reference to Odington's statement, that the Longa was even in his time divided by some into two halves (CS. I, 245a), that indeed cases analogous to the Summer canon occur also later on, i. e., at an epoch nearer to that of Odington. One of them has been adduced by Bukofzer on p. 91 f.: it is the *O pastor patris* from the Ms. Bodleian Hatton 30 (cf. above, p. 71), written, as I think, in the second half of the 13th c. (it is not one of the later Worcester fragments, as it uses only Longae and Breves, while elsewhere in Worcester Semibreves are also used). Another binary document is probably the instrumental estampie in Bodleian Douce 139 (facsimile in EEH. pl. 24, transcription by J. Wolf, AM. I, 22, and by the writer, ZM. XII, 13); here we again see the combination of rhombs used as Breves and squares with *caudae* standing for Longae, while the ligatures are unmeasured, precisely what we should call « primitive English measured notation ». I have transcribed it in binary rhythm (as did Wolf, the difference between us concerning mainly the formal disposition) and I do not see why I ought to disavow this, although many details of the notation may yet be subject to discussion. The prevailing rhythm is (binary) third mode, but also the fourth appears. The Ms. Douce 139 has been ascribed to the 13th c.; it is in any case of late 13th c. We could yet recall the case, dealt with below, p. , of a motet contained in the old « Corpus » of Mo. which is in the third mode and very possibly of English origin, and whose notation seems to display signs that the rhythm had once been binary; however this would lead us again back to the epoch of the Summer canon.

There is still a passage in a somewhat later English theorist, R. de Handlo, which has been cited in this context. Quoting, as it seems, Petrus le Viser, R. de Handlo says (CS. I, 388 f.) that there are three manners (« mores ») of proferring the notes: « more longo », « more mediocri » and « more lascivo ». These are in reality tempo differences, and therefore this passage is related to others dealing with the question of tempo (as to which H. Besseler in AM. VIII, 159f. and 213f. should be consulted). However the tempo may incidentally reflect upon the distribution of values: according to the author « more lascivo » three Semibreves at most may be contained in one Brevis, « more mediocri » five, and « more longo » still more. Now it is interesting that, according to him, « more mediocri » two Semibreves (put between Breves) are equal and three are unequal, while « more lascivo » two, as also three, Breves between Longae are equal; in other words, he admits in the first case only *tempus imperfectum* and in the latter *modus perfectus* as well as *imperfectus*. Why he does so,

is not clear (and neither Ro. Mo. IV, 82f. nor Bukofzer, 92 helps to clarify the question). The only point we may for the moment retain is the mention of binary measure.

Those who have seen Anglès' splendid edition of the Huelgas Ms. (written circa 1325) remember that there the question of binary rhythm arises in many cases. Of this the learned editor was well aware. Yet I doubt whether he was right in taking the curious rubric « manera francesa » whish occurs in No. 154 as an indication of binary rhythm, as against ternary which would be indicated by « manera espanola », as a large part of the passages marked with « manera francesa » seem clearly to proceed in ternary rhythm. I should venture another explanation. As I have suggested, there are two methods of shaping the rhythm of syllabic passages in the polyphonic conductus: a) associating the syllables with ternary Longae, which may sometimes be doubled or otherwise multiplied; b) fitting them in any scheme which mixes Breves and Longae (as, e. g., first or third mode); now the passages marked with the rubric « manera francesa » belong, whether ternary or binary, to the latter kind (it is true that this explanation could be opposed by the question why are these rubrics missing in other conductus where both methods of syllabic rhythm are applied). I think we may take « manera espanola » in the sense of « traditional conductus rhythmics » and « manera francesa » in that of « modern, motet-like rhythmics ». The same conductus (*Mater patris et filia*) occurs in the Madrid Ms. in unmeasured notation and it is interesting to see how the ternary rhythm of Madrid has been « binarized » in Huelgas; yet, as I think, that has taken place not whereever « manera francesa » is prescribed, but only in the passage « *mater* ... *remedium* » (and the following melisma); it is a binary form of 3, mode, *mater misericordiae* being represented by

instead of



We see that both types of conductus rhythm are not distinguished by rubrics in the Madrid version (although it is unmensural) but are in Huelgas (although this Ms. is mensural), which may be considered as an indication of the weakening conductus tradition. But how could we distinguish within the older version, where the syllables proceed in Longae or in modal rhythm (1.and 3.mode)? We must take in account the quantitative distribution of notes to syllables and we may even avail ourselves of some graphic indices, yet rhythmic « plausibility » has also its importance. Monsignore Anglès gives the Madrid version in addition to that of Huelgas, and it is to his courtesy that I am indebted for a partial photograph of the former.

IV. *THE HISTORICAL POSITION OF THE SUMMER CANON*

Try as we may to insert the Summer canon into the historical process, some degree of isolation will remain in any csae. It is not so much a case of setting up a « miracle theory » as of confessing that our historical knowledge is beset with gaps, and this most of all in the domain from which the Summer canon comes, i. e., that of non-learned secular music.

Again I think it is not « romanticism » to assume that many things, coming from that sphere, have afterwards acquired influence on learned music (indeed analogous processes have many times taken place in the history of music). There is at least no attempt at idealization there, as I find the Summer canon rather clumsy and uncouth (I should, for instance, prefer a composition like the motet Mo. 8,339, in which kindred tendencies manifest themselves in a more artistic way, *although* it has, instead of the two voices of our « pes », only one T., and instead of the four upper voices of the canon only two). Modern musicians have perhaps been too impressed by the use of the canonic device in our composition, but this device is not in itself a sign of art; they have also been impressed by the « natural sweetness » of the harmony, but that only because it anticipates their cherished « perfect chord » habits. Objectively, we can only say that it exemplifies the English tendency, already mentioned, toward massive vocal sonority. Here I shall repeat what I have said in my lectures about English music, what seems to have been said already in 1914 by J. B. Hurry in a booklet about the Summer canon, not available to me, and what was adhered to by Bukofzer in his dissertation (p. 106) but now repudiated by him (p. 82): that this kind of multivocal singing seems to agree well with what Giraldus Cambrensis related at the end of the 12th c. about polyphonic singing of non-learned people in Wales, a singing which conveyed the impression that there were as many melodies as heads (Descriptio Cambriae I 13; note that Reading being in the South-West of England is not far away from Wales). I do not think this description can be explained by referring it to the doubling of a two-part song in octaves as taught by *Musica Enchiriadis,* because octave doubling does not produce the impression of plenitude, variety and richness aimed at by Giraldus.

Under these circumstances I think we ought not to force the Summer canon into an evolutionary-order that is not its own by maintaining that binary rhythm could not possibly appear before it was duly recognized by (French) theorists, or by laying too much stress on the fact that we meet motets with non-liturgical tenors elsewhere not before the last fascicle of Mo.

The assumption of considerable *lacunae* in the tradition is further illustrated by statemets of Italian writers in the first half of the 14th c. about the canon. Fr. da Barberino, edited by Antognoni in *Giornale di filologia romanza* IV 96, tells us that the « collatio », by which he means probably circular canon (if it is not voice exchange), is sung by three or more different voices; and the Anonymus Debene-

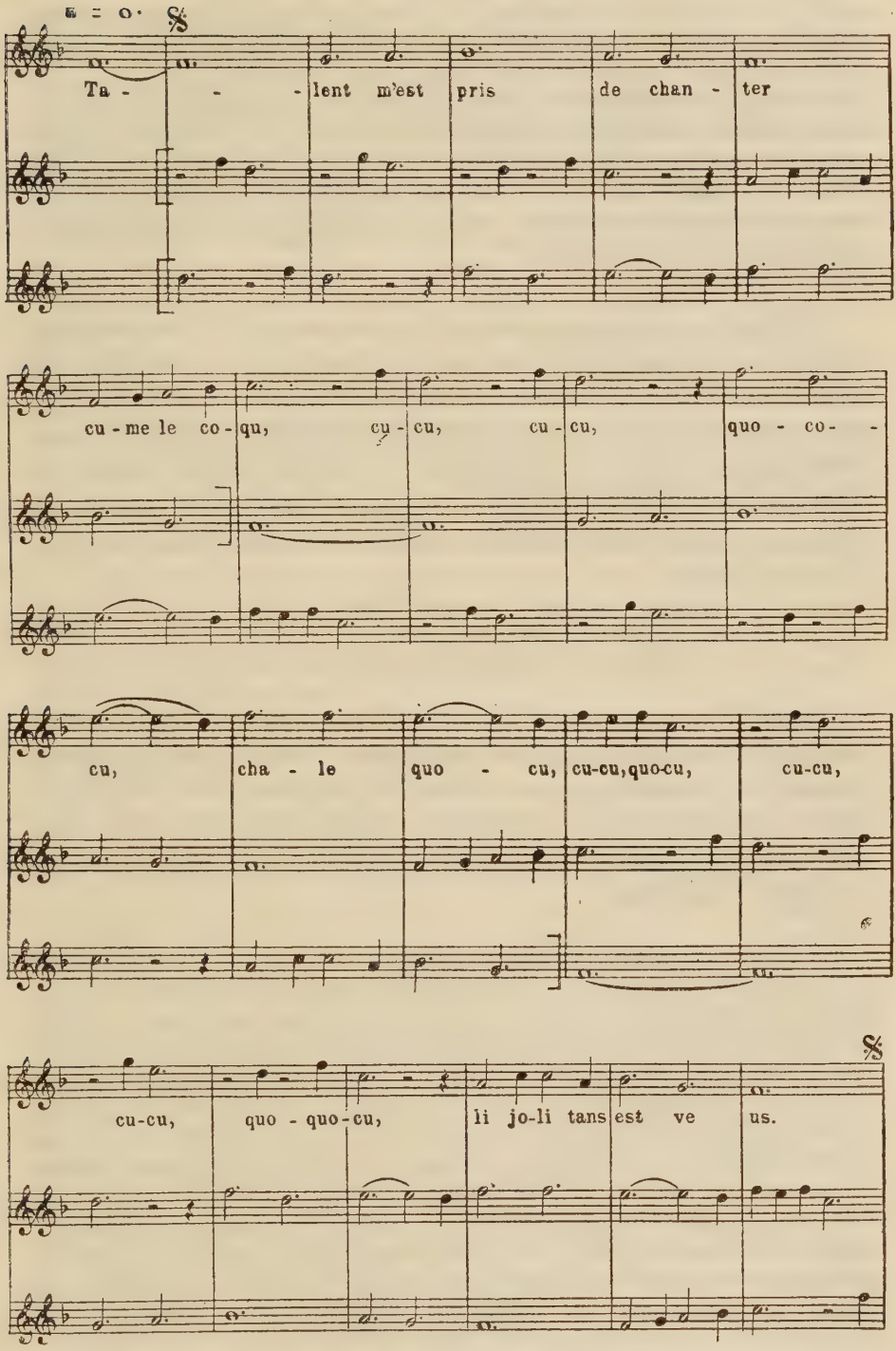
detti mentions « Cacie sive Incalzi » (probably canons) for five voices. As was observed in *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch fuer Musikwissenschaft* V, 1931, 29, that does not concord with Italian *caccie* which have come down to us and which comprise only two canonic voices above one supporting instrumental voice. The gap is again in the domain of secular non-learned music, or in that between the non-learned and learned. It is very probable that these multivocal canons were quite simple rhythmically; whether they went to Italy from England via France or were native we can not say (Fr. da Barberino considers « collatio » as a kind of music which is new).

But we must take in account also one of the French canons preserved in the Ivrea Ms., which seems to stand apart as representing a relatively naive taste. It is *Talent m'est pris,* interesting in several respects and therefore reproduced here with the help of photographs gratiously supplied the archives of the American Institute of Musicology. (The text must of course be inserted in all the voices; we include in brackets those parts of the second and third voices which have to be sung only at the repetition). The bibliography of this composition is recorded by F. Kammerer, *Die Musikstuecke des Prager Codex* XI E 9, 1931, 25f.; the same author has transcribed different versions of it (p. 137 ff.) but, as N. Pirrotta has observed in Riv. XLVIII 318, wrongly: it is not a « canon cancrizans » as Kammerer takes it (and others have taken it) to be, but a « circular » canon. Indeed Pirrotta has given the right interpretation of the instruction contained in Ivrea fol. 52 (accordingly I think the right punctuation would be « Chase de septem temporibus fugando, et revertendo prima nota non valet nisi solam brevem »): in the resumption of the beginning by the leading voice the first note is only a Brevis, not a Longa; he is also right in maintaining that this canon, as the others in Ivrea, is in three parts. (The resumption of the beginning at the end is confirmed by the fact that on fol. 15a of the same Ms. where the composition is written in a slightly different version, the words « Talant etc., cassa » are added at the end). We should add that the idea of « canon cancrizans » proposed by Kammerer is unrealisable in ternary measure according to the old notation, as «imperfecting » of note values takes place mainly backwards and is not reversible; therefore even in Kammerer's transcription the inversion (which takes bar 22 as centre) is not strict. Indeed the only composition of the 14th c. that could be termed as « canon cancrizans » (although the « consequent » begins simultaneously with the leading voice) is in binary rhythm: Machaut's rondeau No. 14 (*Ma fin est mon commencement*).

Talent is rather primitive in comparison with such elaborate canons from Ivrea as that edited by H. Besseler in AM. VII, 251 (to which also a third voice must be added). However it is not so void of variety as the Summer canon; there is more rhythmic animation, notwithstaning the fact that the movement proceeds also mainly in two note values, these being Semibrevis and Minima in *Talent* and Longa and Brevis in the Summer canon. (Indeed in the 14th c. many compositions written in Semibreves and Minimae preserve the same simplicity as others written in Longae and Breves in the 13th c.).

It is noteworthy that in this case also there exists a binary version beside the ternary (it is in the Ms. Prague XI E 9, fol. 249', and can be found in Kammerer, p. 137 f., but here we must return to bar 2 after bar 21); and I cannot help finding the

Ivrea f. 52


Ta - - - lent m'est pris de chan - ter
cu - me le co - qu, cu - cu, cu - cu, quo - co - -
cu, cha - le quo - cu, cu-cu, quo-cu, cu-cu,
cu-cu, quo - quo - cu, li jo-li tans est ve us.

binary version more natural. That would signify that in Ivrea the composition has been shifted to a more « learned » sphere. It is also interesting that, although *Talent* can not be said to be directly derived from the Summer canon, there are, between them, similarities which have been noticed by Bukofzer (p. 109f.).

We should perhaps add that there is a still later composition that reminds us of the Summer canon, namely, Dufay's rondeau *Resvelons nous* (Stainer p. 132), where the lower voices sing a canonic *ostinato,* one top voice singing the melody. In respect to harmony, there is — as has been observed by T. Georgiades — a still much later composition that displays a marked similarity with the Summer canon: W. Byrd's virginal piece, *The bells.*

Summarizing what has been said in this section, I think that the evidence to be drawn from what we know about musical history is not strong enough for overruling paleographical arguments regarding the date of Summer canon; we even wish that Schofield had adduced more paleographical material for comparison. I see no decisive reason for excluding the middle of the 13th c. as the time of writing of our canon, because, I think, measured notation appears here in a primitive stage (cf. above, p. 73f.).

V. *DOES « ROTA » MEAN CIRCULAR CANON?*

As to the exact meaning of the term « rota » applied in the Ms. to our canon, there exists still some uncertainty: does it mean perpetual (« rotating ») or ordinary canon, or may the designation even have to be referred only to the lower voices which, being outside the canon, form voice-exchange (« Stimmtausch ») which is the procedure characteristic of the English « rondellus »?

As to the « rondellus », frequently confounded with the French « rondeau », there is a passage of W. Odington (CS. I, 246f.) to which reference has often been made. Coussemaker's transcription of it needs the following corrections (according to the Ms., fol. 34', reproduced in EEH. pl. 41): *tamen aptentur* has to be replaced by *cui aptentur;* then it runs: *descendant vel ascendant*; then: *nisi forte causa majoris pulchritudinis.* The words « cum littera *vel* sine » used by Odington in this connection Bukofzer (p. 97) parallels with « cum littera *et* sine », applied by Franco (CS.I 130a) to the conductus and related by me to the coexistence of syllabic and melismatic passages in the conductus (ZM. VI, 551 and *Bericht ueber den 1. musikwiss. Kongress der D. Musikgesellschaft in Leipzig* 1925, 214). However there are some differences. While in the conductus all the voices have simultaneously either syllabic passages or melismas, it is rather characteristic of the English « rondellus » that syllabic passages in one voice coexist with melismas in another. A further difference is that

while Franco applies this description to the conductus as a whole, Odington applies it strictly speaking only to the fundamental voice; in these limits « cum littera vel sine », instead of « cum littera et sine », would indeed be lax phraseology. On the other hand the *rondellus,* as represented by Odington's example and by WMH. N. 98 and 99, comprises also purely melismatic passages beside those where one voice is syllabic and the other melismatic, and in this sense there is an approximate analogy with the conductus. The least we must say is that Odington does not clearly present his subject. He may be influenced by Franco; but it is curious that in taking the word *rondellus* from him, he gives to it another meaning, as rondellus was considered by Franco (CS. I, 130a) as a species of « discantus cum eadem littera » (with the same text in all the voices) and therefore probably signifying compositions like the three-part « rondeaux » of Adam de la Hale. Odington seems not quite aware even of the constructive principle of his (the English) *rondellus,* for he speaks of the fundamental melody as the part which must be composed first, as if this voice in the *rondellus* would not presuppose all the others. It is curious that when speaking of the conductus (CS. I 247), Odington says nothing of this distinction between syllabic and melismatic passages.

We may add that in practical music voice-exchange does not always involve all the voices. In the Summer canon it concerns only both lower voices, and therefore it is subsidiary. In the three beautiful three-part motets Mo. 8, 339-341, which are probably English (ZM. XIV, 57 f.), voice-exchange concerns both upper parts and is characterized, as in the examples from Odington and WMH., by simultaneity of syllabic and melismatic parts.

Being concerned about the meaning of the term « rota », we have to note that Bukofzer mentions (p. 97) as the only other English composition « in which at least the word *rota* is used » the « four-voiced (?) motet *Rota Katerine, Orbis dominatio* » which seems to be based on voice-exchange. Here the word *rota* occurs in the text (indeed it sings of the holy Catherine of Alexandria, the patron and conqueror of philosophers who was condemned to be broken on the wheel); but we do not see whether the word must also be taken as an allusion to the category to which this composition belonged. Two voices of it are preserved in B. M. add. 24198 and (as Bukofzer adds) fragments of a third voice in B. M. add. 40011 B. In my photograph of 24198 I can see that the voice which is furnished with text has at its beginning the words *Rota versatilis,* and when I saw the Ms. I noticed that they were written in red; since they are beneath the notes and not above, I take them not as a rubric but as belonging to another voice which sings a phrase beginning with these words while our voice sings that melisma. Behind this melisma our voice pursues normally with the text *Orbis dominatio* etc., then again with melisma under which the words *Rota Katerine* are marked in red, then with the text *Katerina spe divina* etc., then with a melisma marked by the words *Virgo perduxerat* (in red), and again with text *Virgo perduxerat* etc. The second, textless voice seems to have only these text marks written in red: *Rota versatilis — Rota Katerine — Virgo perduxerat* (?) which indicate the points of coincidence with the other voice.

But « rota » as designating a composition occurs later on in France as « rode » (whereas the English « round » of later times must be considered as a descendant

of « rondellus »). I have in mind the rondeau *Tout par compas suis composée* by Baude Cordier, composed about the end of the 14th c. and transcribed by H. Riemann, *Handbuch* I 2, 352; this is a circular canon of two voices to be sung with a supporting instrumental voice (and therefore kindred to a motet type accredited in Italy at the beginning of the 15th c.: the « imitating » motet with freely composed T.). It is written even in circular form in the Ms. (see the facsimile in P. Aubry's *Les plus anciens monuments de la musique française*, 1905, pl. XXII). It is interesting that in this case circular canon is associatqd with « rondeau ». Yet we see that both principles are in contradiction: the music, as far as noted down, comprises the elements A and B of the rondeau scheme and its continuous repetition results therefore in AB AB..., whereas the rondeau scheme is AB AAAB AB. Perhaps the composer expected the performer to effect an adjustment in the text, or was his attitude towards the continuation of the text purely conventional (that is in contrast with Machaut's attitude in his cancrizans-rondeau N°. 14, mentioned above p. 80. as there the elements A and B are dissociable and Machaut, in the text itself, says that the element B occurs only three times). As the element A comprises two verses and B one, it would be a 13-verse rondeau when sung according to the rondeau scheme, yet the musical repetition can produce only multiples of 3. However, the association of the first three verses with the music is quite normal in the original and it is therefore astonishing that Riemann, in the transcription that he supplied to Aubry, has forced upon this music, instead of those three verses, the first six of an eight-verse rondeau which accompanies this composition as a kind of rubric or commentary. In his *Handbuch*, published in the same year, Riemann is more cautions and even too cautious, as he abstains from fitting any text to the music; he thinks that one or the other of the accompanying rondeau texts could be associated with the music but the result could be only arbitrary. Evidently he does not like melismatic (adorned) chant and therefore he fails tò recognize that the union of the three verses and the music, as represented in the Ms., is quite normal from the point of view of the epoch; and he fails to see that the continuation of these verses which is also written in circular form, is quite apart from the other accompanying rondeau texts.

There is still a German equivalent of « rota » in the form of the word « radel » (= little wheel) applied to a rather primitive three-part canon of the same epoch (end of the 14th c.); but as to its solution agreement has not yet been reached (see H. J. Moser, *Geschichte der deutschen Musik*, I ⁴187, and K. A. Rosenthal in ZM. IX).

The circular canons in Machaut's lais Nos. 16 and 17 have as rubric only « iterum sine pausatione ».

The non-circular Italian canons of the 14th c. are, as is known, termed « caccia » (hunt).

Among the French canons of the Ivrea Ms. only one is circular (dealt with above, p. 80) and just this is termed in the rubric as « chace ».

Looking at the three compositions rubricated as « caça » in the Llibre Vermell of Montserrat and edited by O. Ursprung in ZM. IV, 151-153, we see that the second and third are only voice-exchange, but owing to their brevity they were, of course,

repeated in circular form, whereas the first is a real canon and not circular. Here we must recall the definition of circular canon, i. e., the device by which the end is linked with the beginning: it is that the last period of the leading voice (and we take as period the space by which the « consequent » is later) is contrapuntally compatible not only with the preceding (which is the definition of canon as such), but also with the first; in this sense every voice-exchange composition can be used as circular song.

In the *Speculum musicae* (CS. II, 395a, a passage already utilized by Riemann) « fuga » is mentioned as a species of discantus by which, manifestly, is meant the canon; it is to be distinguished from « ecclesiastical discant measured in all the voices », from conductus, from motets and from « cantilenae sive rondelli » (in this case the latter word is probably to be taken in the French and not in the English sense: it is the « rondeau », yet no longer understood as a composition where all the voices sing the same text, but as belonging to the « cantilena » genus in which only the upper voice is sung).

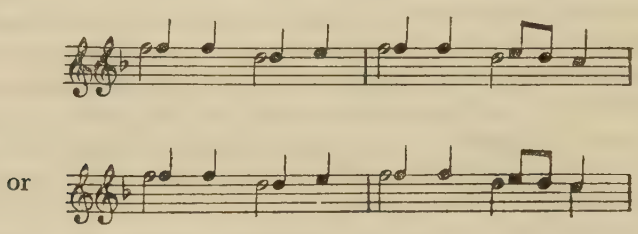
Te term « rotys of Almanye » (= Germany) occuring in an early 15th c. poem, J. Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte,* v. 5571, is of no use to us, as Lydgate is only paraphrasing the French *Echecs amoureux* where it stands as « ros d'Allemaigne » (see Samm. VI, 354); but the *Echecs* in their turn borrowed from Machaut, and here it is rightly « rés d'Alemaigne » which I have reduced to the German word « reihen » = melody (ZM. XII, 10). Lydgate is not to be taken too seriously, as, soon after having used this corrupt expression, he uses the same word « rotys », rightly denoting a musical instrument (v. 5579; here the prototype is, of course, « rotta »).

It seems therefore that the evidence at our disposal does not suffice for determining that « rota » means especially the circular canon. But now we must tackle the question whether our canon is, by inner evidence, circular.

It has been taken as such by several writers, including Bukofzer, who, however, no longer thinks so (p. 104). We must observe that such non-circular canons as have come down to us from the sphere of French learned music of the 14th c., have a close distinctly devised as such, as, for instance, the canon edited by H. Besseler, AM.VII, 251 (mentioned above, p. 80). Ours lacks this device; as we see in Bukofzer's transcription, two of the voices have to end in the middle of a word if the melody is carried through once in the first voice. Wooldridge (*Oxford History* I, 333-336, of course I quote the first edition and not the crippled second for which Wooldridge is not responsible), in order to avoid this abruptness, has altered the distribution of the syllables at the close. On the other hand A. Schering (*Geschichte der Musik in Beispielen,* No. 17), having arrived at this point, continues on still for six (double) bars until every canonic voice has carried through the melody, the others dropping

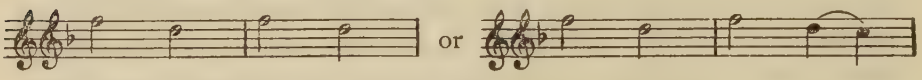
out one after the other; and this was the case already in Riemann's transcription (*Handbuch* I 2, 216).

Now for determining whether or not our canon must be considered as a perpetual one, we must follow the idea urged by Bukofzer (p. 104) and see what the result will be in this case. Adding to his transcription the second half of the last (double) bar and filling in the other voices in the first six bars, there result three cases of parallel unisons, apart from the following awkward passage which combines unison with dissonant clash:



Looking at the rest we see that all goes well, with the exception of one parallel unison occurring within the limits of the four canonic voices in bar 15, and more parallel unisons between one of these and one of the « pes » voices in bars 15-16, 19-20 and 21-22; of course parallel fifths have to be taken into the bargain and minor awkwardnesses like

All that is opposed to the idea of circular canon. Yet we had supposed the restoration of



in bars 19 ff., which has been erased and replaced by

in the « reformed » version. Taking the *latter* as supposition, the result would be: again three parallel unisons and three octaves in the problematical six bars, but *not* the awkward combination singled out; on the

other hand the rest of the canon would present seven parallel unisons between canonic voices instead of one, and the four unisons between canonic and non-canonic voices would remain.

As the original version produces the worse result in the six transitional bars and the better result in the rest of the canon, it seems difficult to avoid the conclusion that the change has been effected for making possible the rendering of the canon as a perpetual one. Yet the word « rota » would be applicable already to the non-circular state of the same, as the rubric is older than the correction.

Thus it seems that the Summer canon in its primitive forme was neither provided with a convenient close nor designed for being sung as a circular one. In this case I think we must consider the solution adopted by Riemann and Schering as not so bad as Bukofzer thinks (yet he is right in opposing the consecutive entry of the « pes » voices in Schering's version). Of course even in this case repetition was not excluded.

As I think, it follows from our comparison that even without anchoring the end to the beginning, the canon has a tendency to perpetual repetition, and in our case this tendency seems to have been pursued by the author of the revised version. But even in the case of such canons as have a definite close, is there not actually an intrinsic contradiction between this close and the tendency to perpetuity inherent in the canonic device as such? In this sense I think the limit between circular and non-circular canon is not so fundamental. Technically, it is a question of adapting the close to one destination or the other. Yet in its essence the canon represents the idea of endless flow, and the mutual pursuit of the voices pushes the idea of structure as realized by incisions to the background: it is, in a word, the extreme representative of musical continuity as against musical form (though it is not impossible that the canon may conclude compromises with the latter).

In this respect it seems possible that the term « rota », as applied already to the primary version of the Summer canon, points to repetition and perpetuity, though realized in a looser form and without encroachment of the beginning by the close. In fact the idea of « wheel » means returning to the starting point: the straight line of a musical process is represented by a curve and the repetition resulting therefrom by a circular figure.

But if we thus interpret « rota » and assume an impulse to continuous

flow involving the tendency to repetition, we must confess that there is still a relation between the « rota » and the English « rondellus », as voice-exchange necessarily involves repetition; there is even evidence that compositions based on voice-exchange were sometimes continuously repeated, as also that they began sometimes like canon or fugue, the voices entering one after the other. In this sense we feel that there exists a connection even to the homophonic French rondeau — a form tending to continuous repetition — and even to the refrain form in general. But of course that does not mean that we ought to confuse things.

As to the ligature of two notes which Bukofzer writes conjecturally in the third bar from end above the syllable *-cu* (cf. p. 86), I cannot help finding it rhythmically awkward. Here I am again indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Dart who, in examining the Ms., joined me in the assumption that there had probably been only one note. But which? As Mr. Dart says, no trace of the note is left; Wooldridge takes it to have been *d*, while Bukofzer points out that the *c*-line has been broken by erasure (yet it could have been broken also if *d* or *b* was erased, and the *a*-line is also broken). It seems that we have to choose between *d* and *b* and the latter is more plausible; in this case the « reformer » would have replaced *b*, rhomb, by *b*, square. This is the only square without *cauda* in the revised version and we have to ask why the reformer did not write a square with tail, as in other cases where the Longa is to him two time units: perhaps because in this case the binary note followed a ternary one and he was eager to distinguish them graphically (and this would be again a symptom of tentative mensuralism).

We have yet to consider the note set to the preceding syllable, *cuc-*. Wooldridge and Bukofzer give *a*, rhomb, while I surmised it was originally the square which we see, but without tail, and Mr. Dart says it was a square with or without tail. If without, the only possible explanation would be that the binary rhythm is in this case interrupted not at the close but in the middle of the rhythmical period.

Yet there is still one doubtful point. Two bars earlier the syllable *-cu* might, as says Mr. Dart, have had above itself not *d*, Longa, as in the preceding bar, but a ligature; and in this case *dc* would seem very plausible (see the variants as given above, p. 86).

VI. *THE LOST READING COLLECTION; WORCESTER AND MONTPELLIER QUESTIONS*

It was to the merit of F. Ludwig to have edited, with a learned commentary, the table of contents of a large but, alas, lost collection of polyphonic music inscribed on fol. 160'-161 of our Harleian codex (LR. 267-278). Schofield has, in the paper referred to, given some corrections to readings of Ludwig and, going back to an interesting record of mu-

sical activity of a Reading monk edited by F. Madan in *The Bodleian Quarterly Record* of 1924 and to other sources, he was able to identify the three (not the two, or even the one) personalities quoted in this list as either composers or owners.

Most important is what concerns *W. de Wicumbe* whose name figures in the rubric prefixed to the second part of the list (LR. had read W. de Winc[estre]). As is known, a monk was in general denoted by his Christian name and the place of his provenance. W. de Wicumbe was a Reading monk in the second half of the 13th century who stayed four years in Leominster, a convent dependent (a « cell ») of Reading, and the record edited by Madan precisely sums up his activity there (it seems to be written by himself). It appears that during a part of these four years he was precentor. One of the Mss. he wrote there was a consuetudinary. Further there is mentioned that he wrote for the precentor's use « troparium et processionale simul » (i. e., one book serving as troper and processional, as there are many), further « compotum (computum) optimum cum tractatu de musica » (which is also a frequent combination). A case where he expressly figures as author is « historiam (an office) beatae Margarethae cujus dictamen (the text, probably rhymed) frater Hugo de Wicb. composuit, notam cantus (the melody) ipse W. imposuit ». He wrote also « duas rotulas, unam continentem triplices cantus organicos numero..., aliam continentem duplices cantus numero... », i. e., a roll with three-part and one with two-part compositions; unfortunately it is not clear whether in this case he was the author or only the copyist. There is yet « librum ad missam de Sancta Maria ». As special Mss. containing the material for the weekly Saturday Mary Mass scarcely occur, this material being regularly included as an addition in the Gradual or the Missal, it might well be that it was a cycle of polyphonic compositions for this Mass, and in this case probably one comprising the different categories of chant: Allelujas, sequences, the Ordinary, etc. I cannot help recalling here that the 11th fascicle of the Ms. W_1 would correspond to that description. We have therefore to ask whether the 11th fascicle of W_1 is not the collection produced or copied by W. de Wicumbe; in this connection it would be interesting to compare its handwriting with that of the report published by Madan which seems to be in autograph (however it is written only with metal stylus).

As to the provenance of W_1 we must remember that it was considered by LR. 7 not only as French in its contents, but also as having been written in France, notwith-

standing a marginal note related by LR. himself, according to which it had been in the possession of St. Andrews in Scotland; the contents of the 11th fascicle were considered by LR. 8 as stylistically older that the Notre Dame material contained in the other fascicles. I think to have shown in *Schweizerisches Jahrbuch fuer Musikwissenschaft* I, 1924, 74 f. that the material contained in the 11th fascicle is later than the rest and probably English; and in ZM. X, 1928, 540 and 526f. I have added that the tropes in the main part of the Ms. must be of English provenance (cf. *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* XXV, 1930, 66 f.). This thesis has been confirmed by Ludwig in G. Adler's *Handbuch* (second edition 1930, 220, cf. G. Adler-Festschrift, 1930, 48 f.). In a paper published in *The Musical Times* of June 1932 and August 1933 I went on to affirm that the main part of W_1 must have been composed at St. Andrews with Notre Dame material and English additions, while the place of Great Britain where the 11th fascicle was composed remains uncertain. Ro. Mo. IV 70 seems to ascribe to the preface of the facsimile edition of W_1 (J. H. Baxter, 1931) the statement that the Ms. was written at St. Andrews; but in reality Baxter only repeated that the Ms. was there in old times and he did not even assert that it had been written in Great Britain. I regret that all this had to be said, because Ludwig has caused some confusion in failing to revoke expressly his previous statements as to W_1. — Now the conclusion drawn by Y. Rokseth is that if W_1 was written in England and later than the French Ms. F, it can no more be taken as representing the pure and primitive Nostre Dame tradition. She seems not to be aware that this question has been treated ZM. XIV, 319-321 (and recently I have returned to it, *Musikgeschichte im Ueberblick,* 176f.). It is a very complex question: W_1 is likely to contain variants representing the English taste, and yet it is not excluded that it may in some respect preserve features which are primitive.

Remembering that in the list of our Ms. the rubric prefixed to the second group of compositions is « Postea Responsoria W. de Wicumbe », which means that the items of this second group are the work of W. de Wicumbe, it seems very possible that this monk was also the author, and not only the copyist, of the three-part and the two-part compositions contained in the rolls, and the author of the Marian Mass compositions. We shall note that the « responsories » ascribed to him in our list are exclusively Allelujas for the mass, 37 in number, of which the last eight are precisely for Marian masses (among these, three are represented in the 11th fascicle of W_1, see LR.272, but that does not mean much, as concordances in the field of Marian Allelujas were inevitable). Thus W. de Wicumbe has some claim to be considered as author of the 11th fascicle and this claim would not be quite ruled out even if its handwriting differed from that of the record.

Another question is whether the name of W. de Wicumbe prefixed to this (the second) part of the list has to be applied also to the following groups. It does not seem likely to me that he composed also this huge

quantity of « Cund. » (conductus) and different kinds of motets. If I am right, W. de Wicumbe would stand as a composer inclined rather toward the traditional forms of mass composition than toward the fashionable motet form; that would also be more in harmony with his post as precentor at Leominster and with the fact that he composed the music of a Margaret office.

There is a minor point of divergence between Madan's and Schofield's statements concerning an old catalogue of Reading Mss., in which Madan believed to trace some of the books written by W. de Wicumbe. Both refer to the catalogue edited by Barfield in *English Historical Review* III, 1888. This is stated by Barfield to be from early 15th c. while it is, according to Schofield, from late 12th; in the latter case there can be no question of finding there books written by our monk.

We come now to the name of *R. de Burg*[*ate*] affixed to the first composition of the first group in our list (*Spiritus et alme;* LR. 270 had read « *R*[*esponsorium*] *de virgine* »). Schofield identifies him with R. de Burgate, abbot of Reading from 1268-1290 who, then, was the author of a polyphonic version of this Gloria trope; we can assume that he engaged in composition before becoming abbot rather than afterwards.

The third name we have to deal with is that prefixed to the whole list. It is, according to Schofield, *W. de Wint*[*onia*] as against Ludwig's W. de Winc[estre] which is materially the same (Ludwig puts the same name above the first group as above the second, which is not plausible). This name may be related to the whole (as done by Schofield) or only to the first group (as did Ludwig). Here much depends on how we have to read the two words preceding this name, and I confess not to be wholly convinced by Schofield's reading. (Having seen the Ms. in 1934 I agree with him as to the other corrections of Ludwig's readings; I may yet add that I read Ludwig's number 7,6 as *Quod in rubo Moyses,* not *Moysis).* Schofield reads these words as *Ordo libri* and accordingly he takes them to mean that W. de Wintonia was the owner of the whole collection, whereas according to the idea of Ludwig (who left the transcription of those two words open) we should rather take him as the author of the items of the first group. We see that there arises the question how Ludwig's assumpion can be reconciled with the fact that to the first item the name of R. de Burgate is affixed; but on the other hand also Schofield's interpretation leads to a difficulty which we shall touch upon later. At any rate we must be thankful to Schofield for furnishing us with biographical dates about this personage. W. de Wintonia figures in Reading documents from 1276 to

1284, and he was involved in a scandal (which may perhaps be taken as an indication of his having been a composer).

Thus, all the three personages figuring in this list were members of the Reading community, to which belongs the calendar on fol. 15'-16 of our Ms., and this supports the coherence of the Ms. As to the time in which the index of the lost Reading collection was written it can not be earlier than late 13th c., because there occur names of persons who worked in the second half of this century; it may have been written about 1300 as Bukofzer thinks, or even in the 14th c., because W. de Wintonia — if he was really the owner of the Ms. — could be mentioned as such even after his death. But what matters most is the epoch to which we may ascribe the material listed, and that can not be *later* than the second half of the 13th century for the same reason as above. That applies at least to the first two groups of compositions, in connection with which our three names occur.

Now it is interesting to see whether compositions quoted in our list may be found in other sources; this may contribute to determine the date of the lost collection, and perhaps that of other ones also. But first we must get a survey of what our list contains.

The first group comprises polyphonic settings of mass tropes and, as we have seen, to the first is affixed the name of R. de Burgate. Polyphonic settings of tropes are fairly in the English tradition as is shown by the English contribution to the main part of W_1, mentioned above; yet in our case they may be, all or part of them, rather tropic motets than tropes proper. First there are Gloria tropes, three according to the enumeration of Ludwig, but in reality probably four, as Ludwig's second item might be decomposed into two. Ludwig's number 1, 4 concerns rather the verse of the Gradual *Benedicta* than that of the responsory *Stirps,* as the other items concern the Mass. Then come three tropes to Alleluja verses, and last an Alleluja verse apparently not troped. We see that within this group the order follows that of the parts of the Mass. The second group to which the heading « Responsoria W. de Wicumbe » is affixed contains, as said above, mass Allelujas of which the last are for Marian masses. The third has conductus, the fourth motets for two voices, the fifth motets for three voices with two different texts (in the upper voices), the sixth again motets for two parts, and the seventh again like the fifth, according to Ludwig's interpretation.

As to concordances with other sources Bukofzer gives on p. 94f. a list of the compositions « preserved in other sources », but in designating only those sources which are « accessible or quoted in print ». That is very useful. However the title of this list seems to me a little too confident, as the basis of our judgment are only text *initia*. I confess also that one particular reference seems to me not clear, the one concerning Ludwig's number 1, 5, *Alleluja Virginis inviolatae Virga Jesse* (probably a trope or a tropic motet to the *Alleluja Virga Jesse*).

In this case Bukofzer rejects in the footnote both concordances which he has designated with a question mark and this would be quite right. Yet I must point out to him that in ZM. XIV 60 I did not « direct the attention to W_1 p. 180 », (i. e., to the *Alleluja Virga Jesse* in the 11. fascicle of W_1, f. 180 or 197 in the old foliation) in the sense of any « identification »: I only stated that WMH. N. 21 has not the cantus firmus *Alleluja Virga Jesse* which is represented by « Choralbearbeitungen » in the 11th fascicle and in the lost collection; and as to the latter I meant not Ludwig's 1,5 (which is not a « Choralbearbeitung ») but 2,35, as did probably the Rev. A. Hughes. There must be, further, a misprint in Bukofzer's list on p. 94, since its third item is not Ludwig's 1,4, but 1,3.

But as we said the point is to see what these concordances may contribute to the problem of dates. Bukofzer traces the concordances to the Worcester fragments which he dates on p. 83 as « for the most part early 14th c. » and on p. 90 implicitly as 14th c. (while I think they are for the greater part from 13th c.) and to other « early 14th c. English Mss. ». We must remember these fragments were not yet known when Ludwig wrote the first volume of his Repertorium, published in 1910.

As to Ludwig's number 3, 9, *Ave caro Christi,* I think Bukofzer has in mind Cambridge, Gonville and Cajus College 512, where this conductus occurs on fol. 263; this collection may have been written down in the early 14th c. (cf. below, p. ; the catalogue says late 13th c.). As to the « Choralbearbeitung » *Alleluja Nativitas gloriosae* (Ludwig's 2,22) and the motets *Radix Jesse* (4,5) and *Veni creator spiritus* (7,12), Bukofzer probably thinks of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 65. This Ms. is distinctly of the 14th c. and even the music must be of the 14th c., at least that of the Alleluja and the motet *Radix,* as minims are used therein. That is the difficulty which I have alluded to: in this case it is not possible to assume, as Schofield does, that the whole collection had been in the possession of W. de Wintonia living in the 13th c., nor to suppose that the Alleluja of Corpus Christi 65 is that of our second group bearing the name of W. de Wicumbe, another man of the 13th c. The solution could

be sought in different ways: 1) The *Alleluja Nativitas* (2,22) would not be that of the Corpus Christi Ms. which is for four parts, but WMH. N. 27 (which in WMH. is wrongly designated as *Alleluja Nativitas hodie),* for three parts, the well-known Worcester « Choralbearbeitung » published in facsimile by P. Aubry in *Cent motets* III pl. 2 and into which a Notre Dame motet is inserted; this fragment is from the 13th rather than 14th c. It might also be another composition which has not been preserved, as this Alleluja was likely to exist in several polyphonic settings. Therefore only the problem of each motet remains in reality, and this admits a twofold solution. 2a) The motets 4,5 and 7,12 not being included in the second group must not necessarily be composed by W. de Wicumbe see above, p. 90f.). Yet there remains the difficulty concerning W. de Wintonia, the possessor according to Schofield of the whole colletion. Supposing that the motets 4,5 and 7,12 are those in Corpus Christi 65, we must conclude that W. de Wintonia had been the owner only of the first two parts of the collection, or even the first alone. Or then should we return to the assumption that he could have been the *author* of the first group, notwithstanding the name of R. de Burgate affixed to the first item? At any rate the question of how the first words of the list (« Ordo libri » according to Schofield) must be read assumes now additional importance. 2b) We could escape the difficulty by assuming that the items 4,5 and 7,12 of our list are not the motets contained in the Corpus Christi Ms. Without pretending to have solved the question, I should for the moment being prefer the alternative 2a to 2b and thereby we should come to the conclusion that the compositions listed in groups 3-7 (or at least those in 4-7) are later than those contained in the first two groups.

But the bulk of the concordances of the lost Reading collection points to the Worcester fragments which, as I said, are probably for the greater part from the 13th c. Bukofzer's argument regarding the date of these fragments from concordances between them and the last fascicle of Mo. (p. 83) does not seem to me conclusive, because in the case which I have in mind and which is, as far as I know, the only one (Mo. 8,339, see Z.M. XIV, 57f., and below, p.), Worcester preserves the earlier version. Now the eighth fascicle of Mo. itself is not later than ca. 1310, whereas the seventh is from the end of the 13th c. and the first six are written about 1280 (see Ro. Mo. IV, 30); and the material itself is in general older. But the Worcester fragments exhibit concordances not only with the later, but also with the earlier fascicles of Mo. (as we shall see).

To be continued.

SOME MUSIC TREATISES AND THEIR INTERRELATION A SCHOOL OF LIÉGE (c. 1050-1200)?

JOS. SMITS VAN WAESBERGHE

II.

Place of origin of the treatises

Under this head will be collected whatever evidence there may be, internal and external, to elucidate the question of origin.

The first treatise (*a*), *Anonymus-Wolf*, is a series of selections from various treatises of the Reichenau school together with the letter of Notker Balbulus of St. Gall. It has reached us in two Mss, Cod. Darmstadt 1988 an Cod. Brussels, 10162-10166, the former of which at one time belonged to St. James' abbey, the latter to St. Laurence's, both of them at Liége. Paleographic examination dates the first *c.* 1100; the second is a 15th-century copy of the same.

The second tract (*b*), *Anonymus Commentarius in Micrologum* is conspicuous for citing so many melodies that are specifically Liégeois, some being taken from the office of St. Lambert, the patron saint of the city, or from the Trinity office, which at least made its first start at Liége (*M. G. I.* p. 119). It also records the local anthem « Magna vox ».

Aribo's treatise (*c*) is less easy to locate, the difficulties being increased by the way in which facts, interpretations and suppositions have got mixed up[1]. The following are the only hard facts. Aribo dedicated his musical treatise to Bishop Ellenhard of Freising (d. 1078); Aribo by his own words was in touch with William of Hirsau[2]; Engelbert of Admont (c. 1300) mentions an « Aribo scholasticus aurelianensis » i. e. scholaster of Orleans. What evidence do these three points afford?

[1] As regards the writer's birth-place, it is Fetis' opinion that « Aribon naquit probablement dans les Pays-Bas », while Vivell claims this honour for Orleans.

[2] Aribo's words « nunc alibi abbas » imply that his treatise must have been composed between 1068 and 1078.

The superscription of the dedication « Domno suo Ellenhardo » may be, and very likely is, no more than a courtesy address, and does not postulate the conclusion that Aribo lived within the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Freising, much less that he was born there. The second point, Aribo's connection with William of Hirsau can hardly be said to bring more light: for if in his other references to William of Hirsau one should be inclined to read something like a close friendship between the two, his phrase « nunc alibi abbas » should make us pause. Surely, had Aribo been resident at Freising or in South-Bavaria, and had he been a personal friend of William, he would never have written the naked « nunc alibi abbas ».

Engelbert's testimony, however, to a scholastership at Orleans demands our careful attention to a possible stay at that place. For Engelbert appears to have been a conscientious historian and a reliable musical scholar, and he was in a position to be well-informed regarding this Aribo. Admont abbey owned the most integral version of Aribo's treatise that has come down to us (12th century Ms), and which may reasonably be supposed to be a direct copy of the Ms presented to Bishop Ellenhard. The comparative proximity of Freising should also be kept in mind, as well as the circumstance that there can have been no motive for Engelbert to hide the fact of Aribo's Bavarian descent, if such there was, and see in him not a fellow-countryman but a Frenchman. All this should prevent any serious inquirer from simply ignoring Engelbert's statement. And should the absence of any support for the Orleans-theory still leave him sceptical, he cannot but admit that Engelbert must have had evidence at his disposal which made him certain that Aribo was not a native, or at least not an inhabitant, of Bavaria[3], but of Western Europe. When, however, this region is scoured for places where Aribo and his influence flourished, it is only Liége that comes to the fore, and this in an overwhelming way. We shall return to this point when discussing the tradition of the Mss. Here it may suffice to point out that Aribo must have known the treatise *Anonymus-Wolf,* that his text was multiplied — though not

[3] No account need be taken of the words which the Anonymous of Melk (Migne, *P. L.* CCII, c. 982) ascribes to Aribo:

> « Aribo tractatum depinxit musicus istum,
> Atque dedit dono pontifici proprio ».

These lines cannot be authentic, in clash as they are with the style in which in his treatise Aribo addresses Bishop Ellenhard,

in full — in Liége Mss, that it was drawn upon by various authors as the Anonymous of the *Questiones*, the *Anonymus Commentator in Micrologum* John (Cotto) and in a later century by James in the Liége *Speculum*. Would it be an arbitrary surmise to take Engelbert's « aurelianensis » as a slip for « leodiensis »? It would by no means be the only one of its kind in medieval writings.

A supposed sojourn of Aribo at Liége, admitted as a working hypothesis, would at once gain support from the treatises produced in the Liége territory, while there is nothing to militate against it. For when the question is raised of how an Aribo of Liége could be commissioned by a bishop of Freising to compose a musical treatise, many witnesses of the 11th century can be adduced testifying not only to the high level of scholarly attainment at Liége but to the powerful attraction of the place on clerics and laymen in Bavaria [4]. That there was a very real tie between Liége and Bishop Ellenhard is borne out by the fact that the latter presented St. Andrew's monastery at Freising with a precious Evangeliarium (Clm 23261), a product of Liége workmanship [5].

Another objection might be drawn from the fact that Aribo speaks of the so-called German musical dialect (« omnes saltatrices laudabiles, sed tamen nobis generosiores videnter quam Longobardis »). But the extant musical dialects of the territory make it evident that Liége was a border territory where there was a struggle for predominance between the German and Romance dialects. In the early Middle Ages it was generally the German dialect that prevailed in musical texts, as appears from the Liége Officium Inventionis S. Stephani, SS. Trinitatis and S. Lamberti. On this head, therefore, the hypothesis is quite safe.

[4] The Emperor Henry II desires for the monastery school he has founded at Bamberg « the learning of Liége and the discipline of Hildesheim ».

In his world-chronicle Frutolf of Michelsberg speaks of Liége as « studiis etiam litterarum prae caeteris adprimam famosa ». Anselm of Liège writing of the time when Wazo (d. 1048) was a scholaster at Liége says: advenientibus quidem quibusque de diversarum partibus....; quae regio enim tam abstrusa in terris, quam volitante Vasone Legiae nomen non penetravit? ». (M. G. H., SS VII, 221; cf. *ibid.* XIV « venientibus ad se de diversarum terrae partibus »). Speaking, of Thietwinus of South Bavaria, the successor of Wazo as bishop of Liége, he writes: « Testis est domnus Thietwinus episcopus et quot-quot ex illis partibus ad nos venire solent clerici sive laici ».

[5] J. Baum, *Die Malerei und Plastik des Mittelalters* II, Wildpark-Potsdam (1930) 165.

In this connection attention may be drawn to Schubert's remark [6] that about 1050-1058 papers from the papal chancellery were written in Liége characters. This is due, he considers, to Pope Leo IX (1049-1054), who travelled in these parts of Lorraine and the Lower Rhine, and on his return took a number of *scrinarii* with him, among them being Frederic, arch-deacon of Liége, who became Pope Stephen IX (1057-1058), Lietbuinus and, at least for the papers of 1057, one « deacon Aribo ». A reference to this deacon Aribo is in so far justified that it may suggest a possible clue to how it was that the teaching of Guido of Arezzo was so soon known at Liége and that as early as 1070 Aribo had an argument with the Anonymous of *Commentarius in Micrologum* about some of Guido's theories. The above dates and discussions do not settle the question of Aribo's place of residence. This much, however, can be stated: 1. Engelbert's « aurelianensis » creates a strong presumption that Aribo was not a Bavarian and that he resided in Western Europe, if not in Orleans; 2. for a hundred years the influence of Aribo's treatise whether through direct copying or through the borrowings of others, is limited to the Freising area and, pre-eminently, to Liége territory.

The Anonymous of *Quaestiones de Musica* (*d*). Both Steglich and Vivell are of the opinion that this author must have lived in Liége territory, the former surmising that he is to be identified with Rudolf of St. Trond (*c.* 1070-1132), the latter pushing Franco of Liége (1047-1093?) as a likely candidate, « ...und dies um so mehr, als Guido's eifriger Schüler Aribo zu jener Zeit in Lüttich sich aufgehalten haben soll, » (*Op. cit.* 257). The sole argument of both writers is based on the manuscripts of which they had knowledge, which were the Ms of St. James' abbey and its copy at St. Laurence's. They did not know of the Ms Ny Kgl S. 73. 8vo in the Royal Library of Copenhagen (12th century). This copy must owe its origin to Liége territory to judge from the two kinds of neumes occurring in it, namely the neumes in use at Metz (the earlier part of the Ms) and those used in Germany or St. Gall.

The time when the *Quaestiones* was composed lies manifestly between Aribo's treatise (*c.* 1070) and the copy of it in Ms Darmstadt 1988 (*c.* 1100). An indication of the origin of this treatise may be derived from a comparison of some passages concerning the transformation or transposition

[6] H. Schubert, *Ein lütticher Schriftprovinz*, Marburg 1908.

of the melodies of *Terribilis* and *Alleluia, judicabunt.* Only a few fragments are cited here:

Anon. Commentar. in Microl. ed. Vivell p. 31 c.c. cod. Flor. .... Tamen in raris cantibus inveniuntur neumae in acutis ita exaltatae, ut inconcinnum videatur eas ad legitimam finalem in gravibus debere remitti, sed in sociali ejus, quae est in acutis... ut in Alleluia « Iudicabunt sancti » (cod. Flor. Laur.) et in responsorio « Terribilis » quod in plagali solum fit.

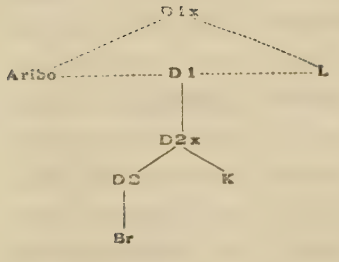
Op. cit. p. 48:
Vel transpositione in parte, ut cum cantus in legitimam finalem finiri deberet et circa eam aliquamdiu versatus fuisset, ad affinem se transfert per lasciviam et ibi finitur ut « Alleluia, Judicabunt » (cod. Flor. Laur.: ut « Terribilis est »).

Quaestiones ed. Steglich 53. ... Cum cantus quidem secundum regimen propriae finalis incipit et aliquandiu circa eandem finalem versatus postea voluntate musici in acutis lasciviendo exaltatus, et diutius quam debuerat immoratus, cum iam eum ad propriam sedem reduci sit inconcinnum, necessitate, quasi lassus et anhelus, in proximum socialis suae divertit hospitium.

Op. cit. ad exempla:
At vero necessitate transponitur... tonus secundus ex parte ut «Terribilis ».

Speculum, ed. E. de Coussemaker, *Scriptorum de Musica Medii Aevi,* II p. 249 first part, 2nd par. ....Voluntate autem et necessitate transferetur cantus aliquis ad affinalem, quando videlicet aliquis circa propriam finalem se tenuit postea voluntate musici actoris illius cantus in acutis lasciviendo exaltatus et diutius quam debuerat immoratus cum jam ad propriam finalem terminari sit incontinuum in proximum socialis sue quasi fessus divertit hospitium, ut patet quantum ad seculares Leodienses ecclesias in « Alleluia, judicabunt sancti ».

ibid. 2nd part, 2nd par. Ille cantus correctus finitur enim in D non in A. Consimiliter cantus illius responsorii « Terribilis est locus » correptus est in ecclesiis



(See p, 110)

aliquibus Leodiensibus, quia duos dant illi fines modo quo dictum est prius de tacto Alleluia. Alibi tamen vidi responsorium illud bene et regulariter notatum, sicut et predictum Alleluia, quia nec in isto responsorio nec in precedenti Alleluia ascensus tollit quin ad propria redire possit vocem finalem.

The parallelism of these texts suggests a certain degree of interdependence. Moreover, the third author, James, blames certain « saeculares leodienses ecclesias » for their melodic interpretation, adding « alibi vidi responsorium illud bene et regulariter notatum, sicut et praedictum Alleluia. » This creates a presumption for Liége as the place of origin of the treatises. It also strikes one that the Commentary is partial to citing Liége melodies, which makes it probable that it was written there. The same holds for the *Quaestiones.*

When the question of the authorship is mooted, Franco would seem to be the most promising candidate. Vivell also thought of him, but there are better arguments than he could command. *De quadratura circuli* is the only treatise of this scholar that has come down to us, and it proves that Franco was specially interested in the *ars arithmetica* and the arithmetical theory of music (interval ratios and monochord-measurements). The author of *Quaestiones* manifests a similar interest.[7] While Franco of Liége refers to the difficulty of distinguishing musical sounds, which was even beyond the subtle mind of Pythagoras (Si difficultas sonorum musicorum eousque pythagoricae subtilitatis acumen evicerit...),

[7] Cf. the heading of Book II ch. 1: « Quomodo mater sit arithmetica armoniae vel musicae et ceterarum artium matheseos disciplinae ».

the writer of *Quaestiones* says in B. F. ch. 12 that he will discuss this part in Book II: « Sed de subtiliori speculatione omnium specierum... disseruimus, quod in fine huius libelli apponendum censuimus. »

There are other analogous passages in the two treatises (Cf. *Muziekgesch. d. Middele.* I, p. 164, n. 82; p. 265), all of them suggesting Franco. And if it cannot be definitely established that Franco is the author of both tracts, there can be no doubt that they were composed by one of the teaching community of Liége towards the end of the 11th century.

John (Cotto) of Afflighem (e)

Few treatises in the history of early music will leave so agreeable an impression on the reader's or the student's mind as John's treatise *De Musica.* This treatise has come to us in twelve Mss running through three centuries, and their several dates are conclusive evidence that the treatise must have been composed about 1100. In Gerbert's edition the author is given the surname « Cotton » on the ground that this name occurred in two Mss, one at Paris and the other at Leipzig; but the Paris Ms has so far proved untraceable, and the Leipzig one gives nothing beyond the bare name « Joannes » (Leipz. U. B. 79). The Ms on which Gerbert based his edition was lost in the fire of the monastery of Sankt Blasien in 1768. There must have been another Ms in the Jesuit library at Antwerp bearing the name « Cotto », but this too has disappeared[8]. Not one of the twelve extant Mss mentions a surname. Up to the year 1504 the treatise is mentioned in ten library catalogues, but in none of them is there even the ghost of a suggestion in favour of the name « Cotto », so that this name is not historically established.

In the absence of clear proof various writers have on rather flimsy grounds made of John a German, an Englishman or a Fleming. Thus the word « Cotto » might be thought to point to England, and even more so the *incipit* of the treatise, which runs « Domino et patri suo venerabili anglorum antistiti Fulgentio ». But the word « cotton » went to England via France and its first recorded appearance in its modern spelling was in the 15th century. On the surface, the meaning of the *incipit* would appear to make a better case. The interpretation Angles

[8] A. Sanderus, *Bibliotheca Belgica manuscripta,* Lille 1641, 334: « Ioannes Cotto ad Fulgentium, Episcoporum Anglorum De Musica ». In the 18th century catalogue of the library of the Jesuit residence at Antwerp the Ms is not mentioned.

or Englishmen would be quite acceptable but for the fact that no abbot or bishop Fulgentius is known to have existed in England or in the Sleswick district of Angeln; nor is there any English manuscript tradition to fall back on[9]; so that another interpretation must be attempted. The variations in the text cause some trouble. In the first place there is the variant *angelorum - anglorum.* In the current abbreviations the letter l, crossed like t, was substituted for « el », which pleads for « angelorum » as the original text. To many scribes, moreover, the reading bishop or abbot « angelorum » must have looked rather queer and « anglorum » must have suggested itself as a reasonable correction. Others, who did not wish to venture so far and were unwilling to commit themselves, simply dropped the word. One or other also changed the word *antistiti* into *episcopo.* But the name Fulgentius maintained itself in nine out of ten Mss. Hence « angelorum antistiti Fulgentio » commends itself as the original reading. But can it have a reasonable meaning?

In the dedication this Fulgentius is highly extolled. The work is dedicated by its author « to his lord and father the venerable abbot (or bishop) Fulgentius ». His name shines (*fulget*) with holiness and he abounds in wisdom. The further text reveals the mutual regard that is habitual between abbot and monk, a relation of intimacy such as is recommended by the rule of St. Benedict[10].

Now at the turn of the 11th century (1089-1120) the abbey of Affighem was ruled by an abbot Fulgentius and the establishment was then in the vigour of its youth. The monks lived in their first fervour and the appellation « angeli » should not therefore appear surprising or unlikely. It is not the only time that monks were thus spoken of. In fact, it would almost seem to have been traditional for the inmates of Affighem to be so styled. For St. Bernard writes in 1146 after his visit to the place « ubique inveni homines, hic vero angelos; verum Affligenium, ubi genius affligitur ». At a later date the monks were forced to leave the abbey and as fugitives were welcomed at Dijon « velut angeli »; here this phrase can convey little meaning unless it is taken to allude to a traditional epithet[11].

[9] The only Ms extant in England (London Br. Mus. Vesp. A II) contains but a fragment of the treatise. Among the lists of some ten medieval libraries it occurs only in that of St. Aug., Canterbury and at Trin. Coll., Dublin.

[10] Cf. Dom Paul Delatte OSB, *Commentaire sur la Règle de Saint Benoit,* Paris 1913, 41-62.

[11] Migne, *P. L.* CCIV, c. 933.

The phrase « angelorum antistiti Fulgentio », therefore should not be deemed inadmissible in the address of this treatise. The question, however, remains whether this interpretation and some other points in the dedication are actually referable to Afflighem, to its first abbot Fulgentius and to one of his monks called John.

In the course of the dedication the abbot Fulgentius is made to say « Proinde ut haec una excusatio prorsus cesset admoneo, cum etiam, ut beatus Gregorius dicit, vires, quas imperitia denegat caritas subministret ». Now there exists a letter addressed by Fulgentius of Afflighem to one of his monks Franco, containing the following passage: « Per obedientiam jubeo ut... scribere incipias indubitanter sciens, quia vires, quas imperitia tibi denegat, sacrosancta charitas et obedientia numquam irremunerata subministrabunt » [12]. Not only the line of thought but the verbal expression of these two admonitions show a similarity that claims a common parentage of both, so that John's Fulgentius may safely be assumed to have been the first abbot of Afflighem and John himself one of his monks. Then there is another dedication of a treatise by Franco to his abbot Fulgentius running as follows: « Fulgentio domino et Patri venerando et ex summi patris nomine et officio jure honorando. Franco ille suus patre indignus filius, filialem cum debita obedientia charitatem... Fulget itaque nunc... in illa claritate noster Fulgentius ». This might be compared with John's beginning « Domino et patri suo venerabili angelorum antistiti Fulgentio, viro scilicet ex re nomen habenti, quippe qui et prudentia pollet et sanctitate fulget, Ioannes servus servorum Dei quicquid patri filius dominoque servus ». Taken by themselves, these two passages might suggest no more than a similarity in dedicative style deriving from the same school, but, viewed in the light of the arguments advanced above, they would appear to confirm the hypothesis advanced by the writer. This hypothesis is not new; it was first advanced by Kornmüller [13], but for lack of evidence it was not generally adopted by musicologists. It has now been placed on firm historical grounds. A comparison of the Mss now at our disposal has supplied the arguments given here.

Did John write his treatise at Afflighem or was it written elsewhere? In order to be on firm ground in this difficult question we must

[12] Migne, *P. L.* CLXVI, c. 717, 806.

[13] O. Kornmüller, « Der Traktat des Johannes Cottonius.... » in *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch* 1888, 1-22.

examine not only John's treatise *De Musica,* but also its sequel, his *Tonarium.* Gerbert did not print it in his collection thinking John's *Tonarium* was identical with that by Berno of Reichenau, which Gerbert had already included in his *Scriptores.* Later musicologists have underrated the significance of the *tonaria.* Yet these *tonaria* are an important link between the treatises where the theory is expounded, and the actual execution which is found recorded in the texts sung and in the musical notation of their melodies. They are the manuals for use with the song books. They contain a definite method set out by the choir-master for his own performers, and this is the reason why they all vary in different countries, regions and monasteries. To the youthful singers of the time they were a sort of key that gave them final instructions as to how a certain melody was to be executed. A late offshoot of these *tonaria* is to be found in the appendix to the *Antiphonale* indicating the *Toni psalmorum.* Writing his theoretical treatise with an eye to practical work, John throws out many hints as to how his *tonarium* should be used. These hints are so many guides for those who try to identify John's *tonarium,* and lead to the conclusion that it occurs in four Mss, namely, Leipzig 79, Karlsruhe 505, Amplon 93 and 94. All these Mss contain another *tonarium* in verse and with musical notation, but whether this is John's work cannot be ascertained. The Vienna Ms (Cpv 51) contains Berno's *tonarium* and does not concern us here.

After collation with the numerous copies and photographs of the writer's collection this *tonarium* shows no likeness to any other except in the matter of the *differentiae,* which are characterized by James of Liége as « an older Liége tradition », which deviates from « the modern », i. e. the 14th century one[14]. This clearly points to some connection with Liége, while John's borrowings from earlier Liége tracts such as Aribo's motus-theory, *Anonymus-Wolf* and *Anonymus Commentator in Micrologum*[15] strengthen this impression. On the other hand, James, in the sixth book of his *Speculum* borrows a good deal from John[16], as does the author of *Summa Musicae*[17], both of whom belong to the Liége school.

These various bits of evidence make it clear that John (of Afflighem) was in touch with the musical practice of the city of Liége and moreover

[14] *Speculum* VI, cap. 85; *C. S.* II, 328 a.

[15] Cf. J. Smits van Waesberghe, *Muziekgesch. d. Middeleeuwen,* I, 367-371.

[16] *Ibid.* 374, 377.

[17] *Ibid.* 383-386.

that there is great affinity between his treatise and the theories of the Liége group formed by *Anonymus-Wolf, Anonymus Commentator in Micrologum, Anonymus Quaestiones in Musica, Speculum Musicae* by James of Liége and *Anonymus Summa Musicae*. All this suggests, if not Liége, at least its neighbourhood, as a very likely place where John may have resided.

About 1100 there were two Benedictine abbeys at Liége, St. Laurence's and St. James's. About the former we know a good deal from very elaborate chronicles: a music teacher or magister cantus, called John, is mentioned in them but none of the other characteristics can refer to our John. Of St. James's hardly anything is known beyond the fact that in John's time it was ruled by an abbot Stephen, a great scholar and an able composer, who encouraged the study of music in his abbey by providing it with the current musical tracts, and who probably had the codex Darmstadt 1988 copied for his monks. Such an environment would certainly have suited John, but the absence of all further evidence does not permit a definite conclusion.

In summing up the following may be stated:

1. The surname « Cotto » has no historical basis;

2. Fulgentius, to whom John dedicated his treatise, is the abbot Fulgentius of Afflighem (1089-1120);

3. On the strength of John's statement that he devoted himself to studies under the eye of Fulgentius, it seems that he received his schooling at Afflighem abbey;

4. The name John Cotto should be changed to John of Afflighem;

5. The contents of John's treatise and *tonarium* betray a direct connection with the musical practice and theory of Liége, so that his works were probably written in that town or in its neighbourhood.

The authorship of the treatise *Anonymus II* (*f*) in De Coussemaker vol. II (n. IX) had better be treated together with that of *Tractaturi de musica* (*h*). Both De Coussemaker and Steglich are of the opinion that the author of the first was a monk of St. James' abbey at Liége. The argument of the former [18] is not very compelling: the fact that the Ms in which he discovered the treatise, at one time belonged to the said abbey, hardly warrants the conclusion that the treatise was composed there. As a matter of fact it was presented to the library of St. James' by John de

[18] *C. S.* II, XXVIII.

Piresceal, dean of Huy, about the year 1400[19], and this would rather seem to favour the suggestion that it was not the work of an inmate of the abbey but that it had been composed elsewhere. In the first instalment of this article it was pointed out that this *Anonymus II* (IX) is not one continuous treatise, but a series of short tracts, the first of which (*C. S.* II, 484-487) is the same as the second (inc. *quoniam inter VII artes liberales*) of the two tracts indicated here as *Tractaturi de musica* (*h*).

De Coussemaker's argument for the authorship is also advanced by Steglich[20], who tries to strengthen it by pointing to a connection between *Quaestiones* and *Anonymus II* (IX) inasmuch as the latter develops a theory of the former. But this argument does not go beyond establishing a theoretical connection between a section of *Anonymus* and the *Quaestiones*[21].

There are better grounds for connecting the said treatise with Liége territory, at least if the working hypothesis of a joint grouping of *Quaestiones*, Aribo and John of Afflighem is allowed. The text of *Tractaturi* and *Quoniam inter VII artes* has been transmitted in a Basle-Ms[22] and a Rome-Ms[23]. Both Mss have by way of introduction *Quattuor ecce tropi* (*l*) from *Quaestiones*, and the circles of Aribo. The first of the two subsequent tracts (*Tractaturi*) is chiefly a selection of excerpts from John of Afflighem, the second (*Quoniam inter VII artes*) being the same as the opening tract of *Anonymus* II (IX)[24], but in a completer text. This *Anonymus* borrows one of his sections (*De tonorum finalibus*) from John, and in other details his theory is based on the *Quaestiones*. All this points to the conclusion that both *Anonymus II (IX)* and *Tractaturi* arose within the sphere of influence of a group of theorists Aribo, John, the author of

[19] S. Balau, *Compte-rendu des sciences de la comm. royale d'histoire*. T. 71 (1902) p. 15, n. 4. The library of St. James' abbey was publicly sold 10 March 1788 (J. N. Paquot), *Catalogue des livres de la bibliothèque de la célèbre abbaye de St. Jacques à Liége*, Liége 1788 p. 167 n. 528). At the beginning of the 19th century the Ms passed into the possession of the University library of Louvain (n. 75). It was lost in the great fire at the outbreak of the first worldwar (25 August 1914).

[20] R. Steglich, Die Quaestiones in musica, 184f.

[21] *C. S.* II, 492f.

[22] Basle, Univ. Libr., F. IX, 154. Wolf, « Anonymi cuiusdam codex Basiliensis », *V. f. M.* IX (1893) 409ff.

[23] Rome, Vat. Libr., Vat. lat. 4357, fol. 57r-64r.

[24] The organum-theory of this *Anonymus* is also found in Guido of Chalis, *C. S.* 191ff: cf. De Coussemaker. *Hist. de l'harmonie au moyen-âge*, 255.

Quaestiones. The treatises of these men served the purpose of a common quarry, the output of which is largely gathered in manuscripts which, in so far as their pedigree can be traced, are to be found in Liége territory. Though the result here attained does not pass the limits of an hypothesis, it remains a thing of importance to collect all and any data concerning the origins. The general effect is that geographically they jointly converge directly and indirectly on one common centre, Liége.

The treatise *Musica est motus vocum* (*g*) has been transmitted in a Ms of St. James' abbey at Liége (Darmstadt 1988), which was copied for St. Laurence's (Brussels 10161-10166), so that for the present this tract may be referred to as the Liége commentary on Guido's motus-theory.

No author borrowed more freely from John of Afflighem than the compiler of *Summa musicae* (*i*). It strikes one that among those borrowings are also certain melodic interpretations which were in special use at Liége. *Magna vox,* the Liége local anthem, is also recorded, as well as many melodies that radiated from that city, as the chants in honour of St. Lambert, St. Stephen and the Holy Trinity. The description of the hierarchy in the closing chapter of the *Summa* is made to suit local circumstances. The picture of the hierarchical groups in the procession suggests Paris or Liége [25]. The Mss transmitted mention one John as the author of the *Summa,* the addition *de Muris* being very probably not authentic [26].

The author of *Speculum musicae* (*k*) is James. In several passages he discusses the methods followed in Liége churches; as in the discussion of other methods no locality is ever mentioned, Liége would seem to be the place where this encyclopaedia of music was compiled. He studied at Paris (« ego puto me Parisius a quodam audivisse » *C. S.* II 281a) [27] and must be the same as « Jacobus de Oudenarde, canonicus majoris ecclesiae

[25] From the passage on neume-notation P. Wagner (*Einführung* II, *Neumenkunde,* Leipzig 1912. 172) and H. Besseler (*Archiv f. Mw.* IX (1926/27), 207) infer that the author was a German. The passage does not allow this inference seeing that it is borrowed from John of Afflighem (Cf. *G. S.* II 259a); moreover, the author appears to be quite familiar with staff-notation (See also *G. S.* III, 243b).

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Teutonic Knights (cf. *Ordo Teutonicorum, G. S.* III 244a) owned three establishments at Liége: the Commandery was situated at « *alten Biesen* » (cf. *Publications de Limbourg* 1905, 205, 222ff).

[26] Cod. London add. 232220 on fol. 24v mentions « *Summam Johannis* ».

[27] Riemann (*Geschichte der Musiktheorie* p. 238 n.) erroneously corrects *Parisius* into *Parisiis.*

Leodiensis », who together with the masters and students of the Paris university in 1313 addressed a request to the Pope « ne pro dictae universitatis debitis pecuniam contribuere cogantur » [28].

III

Interdependence of the Mss

An examination of the contents of a number of musical treatises and an investigation concerning their origin have revealed the fact that those treatises are related to one centre of music theory. which we have provisionally called « The Liége school of music theorists ».

This relation becomes more evidently clear when one turns to the manuscripts with didactic musical contents, and subjects them to a comparative study. With this object in view the author has compared some 500 Mss. This study has yielded an important result. It appears that some thirty of those Mss transmit the text of one of the « Liége » *anonymi* discussed above. These same volumes, however, also contain treatises by other Liége *anonymi* or texts from Aribo of John of Afflighem. These Mss therefore confirm once more the kinship existing among the Liége group of writings on musical theory. The subjoined table gives a bird's eye survey of this close interrelation. By way of introduction the following points may be submitted to the reader.

1. It should not be surprising that the famous cathedral school of Liége, which in the 11th century was one of the centres of learning in Europe, should have no Ms heritage of musical writings left to it. Almost all the Mss of this school perished in fires [1]; the scholastic achievements of the staff of this school have either wholly disappeared or owe their sur-

[28] Denifle, Chartular. Un. Paris. II, 164. *Speculum musicae* must have been written about 1340 (See H. Besseler, « Studien zur Musik des Mittelalters », *Arch. f. Mw.* VII (1925), 180) and for the first half of the 14th century this is the only James of Liége mentioned in the Chartularium.

[1] G. Kurth, *La cité de Liége* (Brussels 1909) vol. 1 Préface I: « Il n'était pas facile d'écrire l'histoire de la Cité de Liége. Cette grande ville n'a pas d'archives. Cinq catastrophes, marqués par les dates de 1212, de 1408, de 1467, de 1648 et de 1794 ont anéanti la plupart des documents qui auraient pu nous renseigner sur son passé ».

vival to copies preserved elsewhere [2]. It is true, therefore, that the cathedral school cannot boast a single Ms telling of the *ars musica* as it was taught in its halls, but this does not warrant the inference that this branch of the *quadrivium* was slighted there. Such conclusion could not be reconciled with the high repute for learning that the cathedral school enjoyed, and would even appear absurd to one who is aware how greatly the Liége monastery schools were interested in the *ars musica.* When in the second part of the 11th century the abbey schools of S. James and S. Laurence began to grow to stature, they must have experienced the beneficial influence of the cathedral school on the *ars musica* no less than they did on the other branches of study. Reference may be made here to the Ms Darmstadt 1988 (written about 1100), at one time belonging to S. James' abbey at Liége. Writing about the *Quaestiones in musica* contained in it Steglich says: « Alle diese Umstände zusammen machen es wahrscheinlich, dass die Vorlagen, aus denen die Mönche von St. Jakob die heute in der Hs. 1988 vereinigten musikalischen Traktaten abschrieben, identisch sind mit den Büchern, aus denen der Verfasser der Quaestiones bei seiner Arbeit schöpfte. Dann wären alle diese Werke an dessen Wirkungstätte, woher sie nach St. Jakob entliehen wurden, vereinigt gewesen. Dann wären auch die Quaestiones nach dem Original selbst abgeschrieben worden » [3]. To this should be added that James of Liége — who is very probably the same as « Jacobus de Audenarde, majoris ecclesiae Leodiensis » (see above) — in his *Speculum* repeatedly quotes from the *Qaestiones,* but from a better text (cf. the verses « Quatuor ecce tropi ») than that of cod. Darmstadt 1988. Is is probable, therefore, that James found this better exemplar in the library of the cathedral school [4], and that there also the

[2] In 1187 (1185?) the cloister of the canons was burnt down. S. Balau, *Etude critique des sources de l'histoire du pays de Liége au moyen-âge* (Brussels 1901, 632) writes: « La plupart des livres qu'elle possédait, perirent sans doute dans l'incendie qui, en 1185, anéantit le temple avec tous ses trésors ».

[3] R. Steglich, *Die Quaestiones in Musica,* p. 103 ff.

[4] Ms Ny Kgl S. 73. 8vo of the Royal Library at Copenhagen has a better text of *Quaestiones* than Darmstadt 1988; it is evidently in better agreement with the *Quaestiones*-text of Brussels 10162-66 than of Darmstadt. Yet the musical contents of the Brussels Ms should be considered to be a copy of Darmstadt, unless the remark on fol. 48 of the Brussels Ms « Si hic est defectus, nescio, quia in libro ex quo scripsi de S. Jacobo adhuc magis est derelictum » should be taken to refer only to the Berno treatise, which covers the pages 34-52. This is very unlikely, however, since practically the whole of the Darmstadt Ms is reproduced in the Brussels copy. The Copenhagen Ms is certainly not the original work from its date (12th century) and from the blanks

treatises were to be found which supplied material for the *Quaestiones* and which were copied into D 1988 (Guido, Berno, Dialogus Oddonis, Anonymus Wolf, Anon. Commentarius in Micrologum, Musica Aribonis, Anon. I. G. S. I, De instit. mus. Boethii and Musica Enchiriadis cum scoliis).

2. The way in which the letter of Notker Balbulus on the meaning of the *litterae significativae appositae neumis* has been handed down underlines the importance of a Liége school of music theorists. Of the twelve extant copies of this letter [5] five belong to this school. There are two copies in Darmstadt 1988; the first in the *Quaestiones* (fol. 126v, 127r = D 2), the second in the treatise of Anonymus Wolf (fol. 184r = D 1), from which both the writer of the *Quaestiones* and Aribo [6] got to know the letter. The text of the *Quaestiones* was copied in the 12th century in the manuscript of Copenhagen (= K) and in the 15th century from Darmstadt 1988 in the manuscript of St. Laurence's abbey at Liége (Br. 10162/66 fol. 65r = Br).

The text of D 1 was used by a third writer, the calligrapher who wrote the *Graduale* of Leipzig (Univ. libr. Archiv Thomaskirche 391 = L) edited by P. Wagner. Was this writer in touch with Liége? The place of origin of this Ms is unknown, though the Metz notation and the inclusion of a French sequence melody might suggest a territory west of the Rhine. In any case the introductory tract consisting as it does of excerpts from John of Afflighem, from the *Summa musicae,* from Notker, Anonymus Wolf (and Guido) reveals once more that ever returning combination of « Liége » theorists, thus suggesting a direct or indirect relation to the Liége school. The relation of this Ms to the pedigree of Notker's letter may appear from the subjoined diagram. It should be remembered that Darmstadt 1988 (D 1 and D 2) is a copy (like the Ms of Copenhagen) and that its exemplar, i. e. Dlx and D2x, ought to have its place in it. The number of Liége sources of Notker's letter thus rises to six, which may be arranged as in the diagram on p. 100.

reserved for the appropriate designs but left uncompleted. We noted above that its musical notation suggests Liégeois territory as its place of origin.

[5] See J. Smits v. Waesberghe, *Muziekgeschiedenis der Middeleeuwen,* II, 17ff.

[6] It is quite probable that John of Afflighem also knew Notker's letter; he, too, uses the term « notae suprascriptae » (G. S. II, 259a), and « quae significent » occurs as « quid significent ». The passage about the letters over the neumes is too concise, however, to warrant a definite statement that he knew of the letter, and if he did, what was the particular reading of it.

3. As to the arrangement of the following table the top-part of the first column mentions the six principal treatises that belong directly or indirectly to the Liége school. The rest of the same column lists the Mss in which those treatises have been handed down, with the exception of the two Paris Mss of the *Speculum* and the Mss containing John of Afflighem's *Musica.*

John's treatise was widely diffused; fourteen copies are known to exist; it is mentioned ten times in catalogues of medieval libraries; it had some parts copied or summarized in other works. When such works are examined one is almost sure to come across excerpts or adaptations from other so-called Liége authors. The following is an exhaustive list of such tracts, with what notes are available on the lives of their authors. Some works merely appear under their title, because they have already been discussed in the course of this study.

a) Summa musicae (G.S. II).

b) Speculum Jacobi Leodiensis.

c) Anon. IX C.S. II.

d) Tractatus cujusdam Carthusiensis monachi (C.S. II 434ff). The one existing copy of this treatise was written by the copyist Anthony of St. Maartensdiik in the province of Zeeland (probably Antonius Lossenbostenair) in 1503/4, now in the University Library of Ghent (70. fol. 78v - 123r). It is the work of a Carthusian monk from French-speaking territory (cf. C.S. II., 462 « vielle, cistolle ») who borrowed a good deal of John of Afflighem. He quotes verses by Johannes Hollandrinus, who is to be identified with a master of the same name serving in the Paris University in 1351 and originating from Louvain. He also cites passages from an anonymous commentary on John of Afflighem, which commentary is preserved in Rome Bibl. Vat. I. 1236 (see general table).

e) One of the canons of the above-mentioned collegiate church of St. Maartensdijk on the island of Tholen (Zeeland, Holland), Jacobus Gw.... bos (name illegible) was the proprietor of a musical treatise, which for the greater part was published by M. Schneider[7]. It consists almost entirely of quotations from Guido and especially from John of Afflighem.

[7] M. Schneider, *Geschichte der Mehrstimmigkeit,* vol. II (Berlin 1935) 106ff.

f) The tract by Joannes Boen (Boon, Bone) of Noordwijk, parish priest of Rijnsburg (province of South-Holland) from 1358-1367.[8]

g) The tract prefixed to the Gradual of St. Thomas' church at Leipzig (see above).

h) Anonymus XI (C.S. II, 416ff), a Frenchman, who borrows a great deal of John of Afflighem and repeatedly cites verses by Johannes Hollandrinus[9]. It was copied with slight alterations and a few additions by a Hungarian student in 1490[10].

i) Pseudo-Aristoteles (Lambertus), quoted several times by James in his *Speculum* (« quidam qui Aristoteles in titulo libri sui nominatur[11] ») borrows part of his material of John of Afflighem and Johannes Hollandrinus.

k) The musical treatise of Jerome of Moravia O.P.[12] is among the most important dissertations on music written in the Paris University. What strikes one is the fact that Guido of Arezzo remains quite in the background, while the writer draws principally on John of Afflighem and Boethius. John's ideas on music, therefore, were known at the university, which is not surprising as Paris in the 13th and 14th centuries had many students from the Liége area. The musical doctrine of the dean of Bielefeld, Gobelinus (1417)[13] takes the form of a commentary on John of Afflighem and quotes the verses of Johannes Hollandrinus.

m) To be complete in every respect it may be mentioned that a number of writers briefly quote from or refer to John of Afflighem: the Tractatus Correctorius of Pseudo-Guido (G.S. II, 50ff), in which a « *Joannes Anglicus* » is spoken of; Joannes Aegidius of Zamora (G.S. II, 376a), who does not seem to be directly acquainted with John's treatise; Adam of Fulda (G.S. III, 366b, 337b, 348b, 354b), cites John at one time as « Joan-

[8] In connection with Dutch place-names it may be mentioned that according to its library catalogue (early in the 13th century) Kloosterrade abbey (Rolduc, prov. of Limburg, Holland) was in possession of a « *musica Joannis* », by which the musical treatise of John of Afflighem must be meant.

[9] The Ms was believed to be lost, but the author had the good luck of finding it back in London B. M. Add. 34200.

[10] Denes von Bartha, *Das Musiklehrbuch einer ungarischen Klosterschule....* Budapest 1934.

[11] Cf. W. Grossmann, *Die einleitenden Kapitel des Speculum Musicae,* Leipzig 1924, p. 67.

[12] S. M. Cserba, *Hieronymus de Moravia O. P.,* Regensburg, 1935.

[13] Edidit J. Müller, *Kirchenmusik.* Jb. 1907.

nes de Muris », at another as « Joannes Papa »; Hugo of Reutlingen (ed. W.C. Beck, Stuttgart 1868, 35 and 137); the codex of St. Dié [14], written by Jordanus of Blankenburg (14th century; quoted by James of Liége C.S. II, 398a), in which there is an excerpt from John of Afflighem, and a monochord measurement from the *Quaestiones* (ed. Steglich, 90). Among the 15th century documents reference may be made to the black-letter book nr. 864 (dating from 1460 (70)) of the town library of Treves [15] and to Ms 98 of the Proske library at Ratisbon [16]. Besides some excerpts from John of Afflighem and others, the latter contains the full text of the verses of Johannes Hollandrinus.

The conclusion, then, to be derived from the above data is that, apart from John's work, they reveal a number of persons and places that belonged to the diocese of Liége or were within its cultural sphere, which in the course of time reached as far north as South Holland (Rijnsburg), westward to Paris and eastward beyond Treves. What is also striking in the tradition of the later years is the fact that quotations and adaptations of John of Afflighem have the companionship of longer or shorter quotations from the versified music theory of Johannes Hollandrinus, a citizen of Louvain, who studied at Paris and may have taught there. These sidelights on the handling of John's treatise by later writers complete the argument for the general interrelation of the Liége treatises and their tradition in the manuscripts as listed in the following general survey (see p. 115).

Results.

The general survey with its introductory study furnishes the following results:

1. A number of treatises whose authors are partly known (Aribo, John of Afflighem, James of Audenarde), partly unknown or conjectured (Anonymus Wolf, *Quaestiones de musica, Commentarius anonymus in Micrologum, Summa Musicae* and a few other *anonymi*) appear to be closely interrelated; the younger members of this group, each in their turn, make use of several of the treatises of their predecessors.

[14] E. de Coussemaker, *Notice sur un ms. de la bibl. de Saint-Dié,* Paris-Lille, 1859.
[15] S. Wantzloeben, *Das Monochord,* Halle, 1911, 115ff.
[16] See Fr. X. Haberl, *Monatshefte für Musik-Geschichte* IV, (872) 160ff.

2. The group of Mss that copy, borrow from or comment on the anonymous treatises under 1, draw promiscuously, in almost every one of the codices, on several treatises of the *anonymi,* of Aribo or of John of Affli-ghem. This points unmistakably to the originals as an interrelated body of writings and to their common descent through time.

3. Whatever hints may be gathered concerning the origin of any author or any manuscript, converge invariably on the city or the territory of Liége, or, when younger writers are concerned, on places within the Liége sphere of influence.

4. In so far as, in the course of the treatises, any tradition of vocal performance is referred to, it is the Liége performance that is had in view (*Anon. Commentarius in Micrologum,* John of Afflighem, *Summa Musicae, Speculum* by James of Liége).

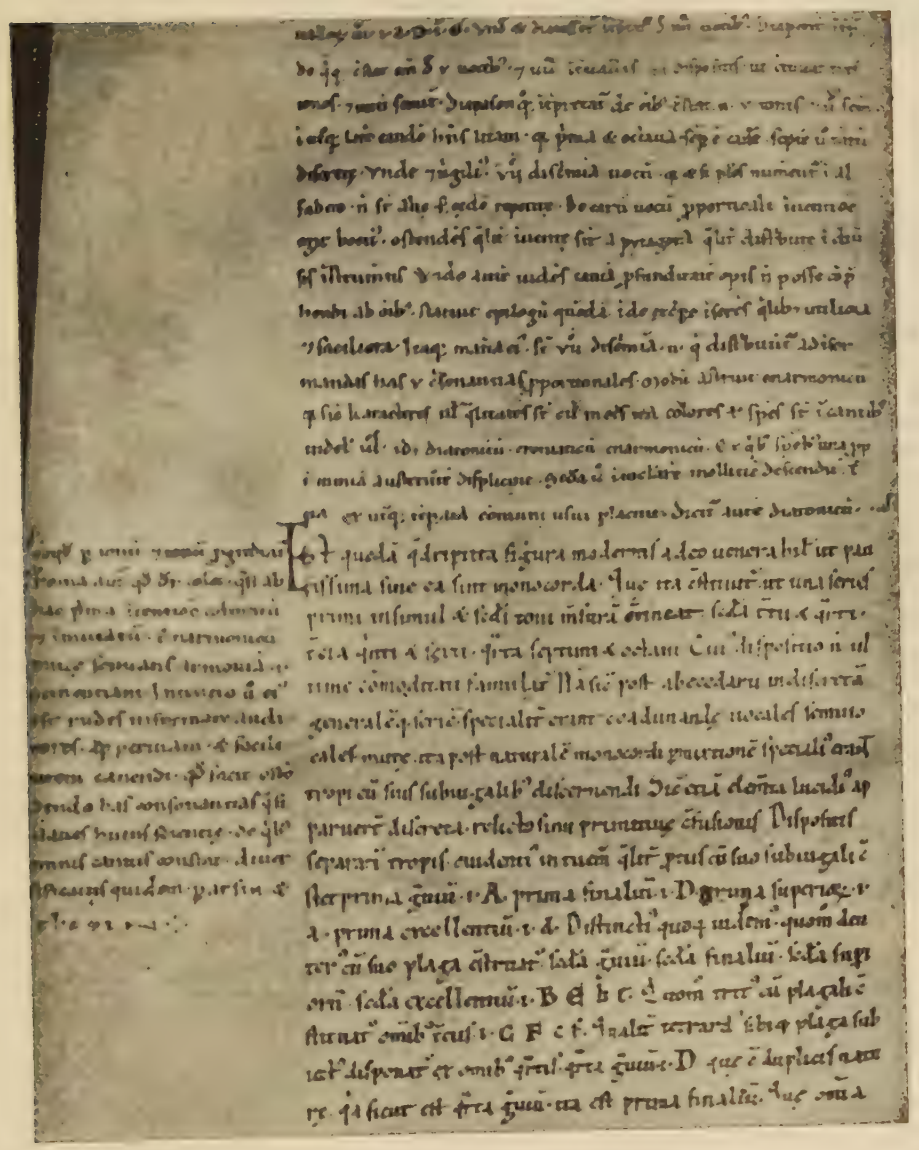
The final result of the preceding inquiry may be summed up as follows:

A comparative study of the treatises enumerated at the beginning of this study and an examination of their history, together with the absence of any contrary evidence, demand the conclusion that they belong to one school, to be designated « the Liége school of music theorists ». The period of its greatest activity lay between 1050 and 1125. During that time the works of Boethius, Berno and Herman of Reichenau, Anonymus I G.S. I, Guido of Arezzo, the letter of Notker Balbulus, the *Enchiriadis* and the *Dialogus* were copied and quarried, while the following original treatises were written:

a) Anonymus Wolf
b) Anonymus de motu
c) Anonymus commentarius in Micrologum
d) Musica Aribonis
e) Quaestiones in musica (Franconis Leod.?)
f) Musica Johannis Afflighensis
g) Versus « Quatuor ecce tropi » (Franconis Leod.?)

To crown the work of this Liége school, James of Liége compiled his *opus magnum, Speculum Musicae,* in which all the above works were utilized.

Amsterdam



Darmstadt 1988 (*ca.* 1100), from the Abbey of St. Jacques de Liége. The first text contains the account of a lesson given by Guido of Arezzo (cf. line 8 : « Wido autem videns tantam profunditatem operis non posse comprehendi ab omnibus . . . »). The second text (« Est quaedam quadripartita figura ») is the beginning of fragments of Aribo's treatise in the Ms of Liége.

TREATISES & MANUSCRIPTS [1]	Notker de litteris significatives	Anonymus Wolf	Anonymus 'Quaestionum (Franco Leod.)	An. Comment. in Micrologum	Anonymus de motu	Anon. C.S. I. 296	Anon C.S. II.
Anonymus-Wolf	comm.	tractatus					
Aribo (c. 1050)	comm. ?	comm.		comm.			
Quaestiones (c. 1070) (Franconis Leod. ? 1080)	comm.	exc.	tractatus	exc.			
Commentarius in Micrologum (ca. 1075)				tractatus			
Joannes Afflig. (c. 1100)	comm. ?	comm. ?	comm.	comm.	exc. ?		
Speculum (lib. VI) Jacobi Leod.		exc.	exc.	exc.	exc.	exc. f. 43r.	
Darmstadt 1988 (S. Jacobi Leod.)	comm.	tract.	tract.		tract.		
Brussels 10162-66 (S. Laur. Leod.)		tr.	tr.		tr.	tr.	
Basle F. IX. 54			exc. fol. 1v.				exc.
Rome Vat. 1. 4357			exc. fol. 57v.				exc.
Munich Cl. 14663				exc. f. 15v.	comm. f. 27r.		
Leiden B.P.L. 194 [2] (S. Jac. Leod.)					comm. f. 14r.		
Admont 494							
Vienna B.N. 2502				tract.			
Leipzig Un. 1492			comm.	comm.			
Florence Laur., Acq. 33			fragm. p.	tract.			
Leipzig Un. 361 [3]	comm.	exc.					
Munich Cl. 24809							
Vienna B.N. 787							
Erfurt. Amplon. 93							
Erfurt. Amplon. 94				comm. f. 52r. f. 80r.			
Karlsruhe 505							exc.
Rome Vat. Pal. 1346							
Berlin, lat. qu. 106			comm.	comm. [4]			exc.
London B.M. Egerton 2888							
Basle F. IX. 36							
Wolfenbüttel. Gud. 334							
Vienna B.N. 4774							
Salzburg							
Munich Cl. 4622 et 18914							
Munich Cl. 14965 a [6]							
Louvain Un. 75 (S. Jacobi Leod.) [7]							tract.

(1) Abbreviations - exc. = excepta. - tr., tract. = tractatus totus. - comm. = commentarius . circ. = circuli Aribonis. - ton. = tonarius. - f. = folium. - fragm. p. = fragmentum parvnm.

(2) The contents of this MS (fol. 1-41r) are about the same as of the preceding Cl. 14663. The 15th-century owner (fol. 1r) was called « P... de diest... de beeringen »? From 1444 to 1485 the prior of St. James' abbey at Liége was Joannes de Diest de Beeringen, who bought several MSS for the abbey library.

(3) The interval system « *Cognita gradatim* » of this MS (cf. Z. F. M. XII (1929) 126ff) in also found in Amplon. 93 f. 38v.

(4) Berlin I. qu. 106 fol. 183r has an unfinished tract of the *transpositio*, which here and there calls to mind the

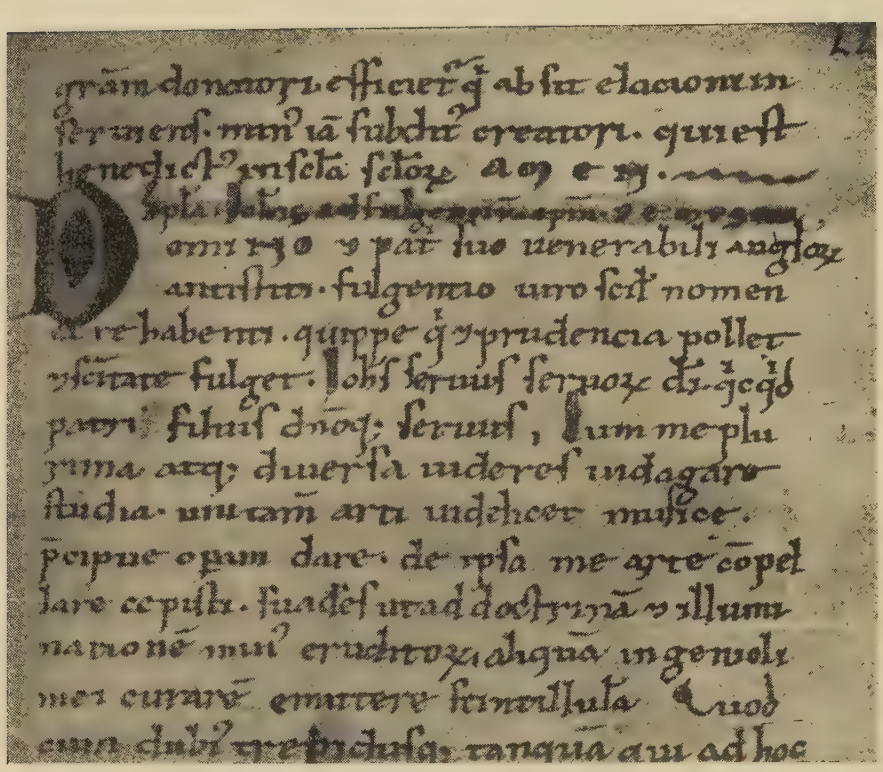
Aribo Tract. de Mus.	Joannes Afflig. Tract. et Ton.	Jacobus Leod. Versus «Quamvis» (Speculum)	Anonymus «Quisquis»	Anonymus «Qui sunt»	Anonymus «Primus tonus dicitur»	Versus «Ad quartam» G. S. I. 259 ss.	Versus «Quatuor ecce tropi» (Anonymi Quaestionum)
							Versus (textus orig. ?)
act.							
tc.							
omm.)							
omm.	tract.						
xc.	exc.	versus					versus f. 233r.234v.
xc.							
xc.							
irculi f. 4v.	exc. f. 3r.						versus f. 1v.
irculi f. 6v.	exc. f. 58r.						versus f. 57v.
xc. + comm.							
xc. + comm.						versus	
act.	tract.					versus (et. G.S.I. 264)	
xc.						versus	
xc.							
	exc.						
irc. f. 161r.		versus f. 169r.					
xc.		versus f. 59v.					
	tr. + ton.	versus f, 38r.	f. 27v.	f. 35v.			
irc. f. 77v. + omm.	tr. + ton.			f. 26v.			
	tr. + ton.	versus f. 47v.	f. 43r.	f. 43r.			
irc. 19v.	exc. + exc. ton. f. 18v.	versus f. 16v.	f. 7r.	f. 8r.	f. 2r.	versus G.S.I. 264)	
iculi 32v.	comm.			comm.	f. 5r.		
xc.	tr.		f. 65r.				
xc. [5]							
irc. I. 68v.	exc. f. 75r.						
ract.							
mensura Aribonis							
xc.							

anonymi of *Quaestiones* and of the *Commentarius in Micrologum*. It is probably derived from an unknown treatise on transposition which was also put to use by the two anonymi. The same may be said of cod. Leipzig 1492 fol. 94ff. It is somewhat curious that both Berlin 106 and Leiden B.P.L. 194 contain the hymn *Prudens iustus continens* (with neumes), which is not recorded in any of the other MSS.

(5) These are the Aribo-excerpts as in Vienna 787.

(6) The short tonarium, with which this MS opens, cites as an example of mode I the national anthem of the Liégeois «*Magna vox*» (fol. 2v).

(7) Destroyed by fire 25 August 1914.



Rome, Bibl. Vat. Reg. 1196 (12th c.), fol. 22r. The incipit of the treatise of John of Afflighem to the abbot Fulgentius of Afflighem, mentioned in this Ms as « venerabili angelorum antistiti ».

IL CODICE DI LUCCA

NINO PIRROTTA & ETTORE LI GOTTI

I

Descrizione e Inventario

Nino Pirrotta

Editor's note: The Lucca Manuscript, by now also known as the Mancini manuscript, the subject of the present article and of a second one to follow with the collaboration of E. Li Gotti, is another relatively recently discovered source of the early 15th century. It is not a source of the dimensions of the Aosta manuscript, discovered even more recently and accounted for in *Musica Disciplina* Vol. II, fasc. 1-2. While the latter is voluminous. containing hundreds of compositions and scores of *unica,* the Lucca manuscript is relatively short and fragmentary. But it is of no little interest to the historian of the 15th century, as will be seen by the present introduction and inventory, and by the study of its repertory, which will be published in another issue of *Musica Disciplina.* And the fact alone that the manuscript contains heretofore unknown music and literary texts bespeaks sufficiently of the interest and significance of this source.

The Inventory of this article actually forms a part of a series that began with the Inventory of the Aosta manuscript and was continued by that of Bologna 37 (Q15) - Cfr. *Musica Disciplina* II, fasc. 3-4. These inventories, of which others will be offered in the future, are intended for helping the researcher by giving him a ready and accessible reference to the contents of important sources, with the added advantage of a concordance with all other Ms sources that contain one or more of the compositions, as also of references to various publications that have dealt with the source in question, and all pertinent remarks.

The present article was not translated into English because it is addressed to specialists, and they would require no translation.

* * *

Numerosi frammenti di un codice musicale del principio del secolo XV sono stati trovati, rispettivamente nel 1935 e nel 1938, in due diverse città italiane: a Perugia nella Biblioteca Comunale e a Lucca nell'Archivio di Stato. Del primo ritrovamento, consistente in 3 fogli pergamnacei, diede notizia Federico Ghisi, il quale più tardi è ancora tornato sull'argomento su questa stessa rivista, pubblicandovi inoltre varie trascrizioni musicali [1]. Il secondo gruppo di pergamene, molto più cospicuo, trovato a Lucca, è stato oggetto recentemente di due notevoli scritti da parte dello scopritore, prof. Augusto Mancini, e del musicologo Alfredo Bonaccorsi [2]. L'importanza dei ritrovamenti, e il notevole contributo di testi letterari e musicali fin qui sconosciuti che da essi deriva, ci fa ritenere non inutile il tentativo di coordinare, e possibilmente ampliare, i dati relativi a questa nuova fonte sulla polifonia italiana dell'*ars nova*. Si è cercato dunque nel presente scritto di dare una descrizione esauriente dei frammenti ritrovati e di ricostruire il loro ordinamento, al fine di compilarne un completo inventario. Faremo seguire in un secondo tempo uno studio del repertorio musicale da essi contenuto nel quadro del periodo storico cui appartiene, accompagnato dalla pubblicazione dei testi letterari.

Si è creduto opportuno di mantenere il nome di codice lucchese, già in certo modo entrato nell'uso, per indicare il complesso dei frammenti ritrovati. Esso è giustificato, del resto, sia dalla prevalenza numerica dei frammenti trovati a Lucca che dalla probabile origine lucchese del manoscritto cui essi appartenevano. Sarà del pari mantenuta la sigla abbreviativa *Mn*, dal nome del professore Mancini, modificandola soltanto in *MnP*, quando si vorranno distintamente indicare i fogli trovati a Perugia.

[1] « Bruchstücke einer neuen Musikhandschrift der italienischen Ars Nova etc. » in *Archiv für Musikforschung*, VII, 1(1942), 17-39 (pubblicato anche, quasi contemporaneamente, in italiano in *Rinascita*, V (gennaio 1942), 72-103, con omissione di un facsimile e delle trascrizioni musicali); e « Italian Ars Nova Music, The Perugia and Pistoia Fragments of the Lucca Codex » in *Musica Disciplina*, I *(Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music* [1946]) 173-191 (con un « Supplemento » di trascrizioni musicali apparso insieme al fascicolo successivo della stessa annata).

[2] A. Mancini, « Frammenti di un nuovo codice dell'Ars Nova » in *Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei - Rendiconti della Classe di Scienze morali etc.*, Serie VIII, vol. II (1947), 85-94; A. Bonaccorsi, « Un nuovo codice dell'Ars Nova. Il Codice Lucchese » in *Atti dell'Acc. Naz. dei Lincei - Memorie - Classe di Scienze morali etc.*, Serie VIII, vol. I (1948), 539-615.

Le pergamene rinvenute nell'Archivio di Stato di Lucca come coperte di registri (le cosidette *vacchette*) provenienti dall'Archivio Notarile della stessa città sono 18. Le loro dimensioni originarie erano alquanto maggiori delle attuali. Per adattarle, infatti, all'uso anzidetto furono ridotte al formato di circa mm. 220 in altezza, di contro ad una larghezza che risulta disuguale nelle due carte che compongono ciascun foglio: e cioè, rispettivamente, circa mm. 155 e 145. Il taglio dei margini superiori ha talvolta intaccato o asportato i nomi dei compositori che di regola vi si trovavano; quello dei margini laterali ha danneggiato o soppresso la numerazione delle carte e intaccato, a volte, la stessa notazione musicale. In misura minore hanno sofferto per questo inconveniente i tre fogli della Biblioteca Comunale di Perugia, trovati come coperte di antichi protocolli di archivio di formato leggermente più grande[3]. Altri danni sono derivati dal logorio che ha quasi cancellato la scrittura di qualche pagina e da macchie, disegni e scritture (specialmente sui fogli di Perugia). Pochissimi fogli hanno subito lacerazioni. La maggior parte conserva con chiarezza le scritture sia letterarie che musicali.

L'uniformità approssimativa di misure, risultando dall'adattamento dei fogli ad un uso diverso da quello cui erano dapprima destinati, non esclude la possibilità di differenze originarie, corrispondenti a differenze di qualità della pergamena, dell'inchiostro, della rigatura, in base alle quali i 21 fogli possono venire distinti e ripartiti in tre gruppi diversi, con le seguenti caratteristiche:

a) 4 fogli (di Lucca). Pergamene di colore caldo e lucente; 7 pentagrammi su ogni pagina; dimensioni dello specchio destinato alla notazione musicale mm. 182×138; iniziali rosse o azzurre, di modeste proporzioni, sia a principio della voce principale di ogni composizione che per le altre voci;

b) 11 fogli (8 lucchesi e 3 di Perugia). Pergamena di tinta più smorta e bruna e di grana più porosa; otto pentagrammi su ogni pagina[4]; misure dello specchio per la notazione musicale variabili, ma in generale maggiori in altezza e minori in larghezza rispetto a quelle indicate per i fogli del primo gruppo. Il primo pentagramma di ogni pagina

[3] Ghisi, Op. cit. in *Archiv für Musikforschung*, p. 17-18, indica le seguenti misure: per i primi due fogli di *MnP* cm. 16×22; per il terzo cm. 15,6×23.

[4] Un nono pentagramma fu aggiunto successivamente sul margine di qualche pagina per completare una determinata composizione.

ha inizio qualche centimetro (da 1,5 a 3) più verso l'interno che tutti gli altri; lo spazio vuoto così risultante nell'angolo superiore sinistro di ogni pagina consentì di tracciare grandi iniziali rosse o azzurre per le voci principali, ben distinte da quelle notevolmente più piccole delle altre voci;

c) 6 fogli (di Lucca) tutti provenienti da uno stesso fascicolo che peraltro non è completo. Pergamena e rigatura simili a quelle del gruppo precedente (lo specchio per la notazione musicale è un poco più ampio, ma sempre con misure oscillanti). Anche qui lo spostamento verso destra dell'inizio del primo pentagramma di ogni pagina lasciava il posto a grandi iniziali, le quali però mancano completamente; soltanto vi si trovano le letterine minuscole tracciate dallo scrittore come guida al lavoro successivo del miniatore. Mancano analogamente le iniziali più piccole per le altre voci.

Malgrado le differenze sopra indicate, parla in favore dell'origine di tutti e tre i gruppi di fogli da uno stesso manoscritto l'uguaglianza della scrittura letteraria e della notazione musicale[5]. La scrittura è calligrafica, di tipo gotico, forse di scrittore dell'Italia settentrionale (influisce su questo giudizio anche il prevalere di forme linguistiche e grafiche settentrionali). Soltanto nelle ultime sette pagine del fascicolo formato dai fogli del terzo gruppo lo scrittore principale (A) cede il posto a due altre mani (B e C) molto simili tra loro, due belle scritture calligrafiche semiumanistiche, la cui stretta somiglianza dimostra la comune provenienza da una scuola di amanuensi toscani. Ciò è confermato dal fatto che il loro apporto al codice, sia come autori che come forme linguistiche, ha un'impronta inconfondibilmente toscana, anzi fiorentina[6]. Allo scrittore B è forse do-

[5] Ghisi, op. cit. in *Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music,* 179 e sgg. suggerisce che possano appartenere allo stesso codice anche i frammenti dell'Archivio Capitolare di Pistoia da lui stesso segnalati nel 1938 (« Un frammento musicale della « Ars Nova Italiana » nell'Archivio Capitolare della Cattedrale di Pistoia » in *Riv. Musicale Italiana,* XLII (1938), 162-68). Mancini e Bonaccorsi respingono tale ipotesi. A parte la scarsa probabilità (ma non impossibilità) che una stessa composizione (la ballata *A pianzer l'ochi mei*) fosse ripetuta due volte nello stesso codice, i frammenti pistoiesi differiscono da quelli di *Mn* perchè il loro formato originario doveva essere sensibilmente maggiore e perchè sono riscritti su una pergamena che conteneva in precedenza una più antica scrittura (letteraria) rossa. Non vi è del resto nessuna somiglianza della scrittura.

[6] Sei composizioni sono il contributo di questi due scrittori: 1 di Francesco Landini e 2 di Andrea Stefani da parte dello scrittore B; 1 di « ... pitor » (forse Bonaiuto Corsini) e due anonime (ma una con certezza e l'altra con qualche probabilità attribuibili a Paolo da Firenze) da parte dello scrittore C. Nelle prime tre il prof. Li Gotti ha creduto di riconoscere la mano di quell'Andrea Stefani, « cantore al tempo dei Bianchi », che

vuta anche la notazione musicale di due pagine del primo gruppo di fogli, sulle quali la notazione più antica (dello scrittore A) fu raschiata, tranne le iniziali, per far posto ad una nuova composizione[7]. Agli scrittori B e C sono anche dovute alcune aggiunte o modifiche alle indicazioni degli autori delle composizioni notate dallo scrittore principale[8].

Un'altra conferma della provenienza da un unico codice è data dalla numerazione per carte che abbraccia i primi due gruppi di fogli. Essa consisteva in due serie di cifre romane, le une piccolissime e tracciate leggermente in inchiostro bruno, le altre più vistose in rosso. In molti casi le cifre dell'una o dell'altra serie, o di entrambe, sono state danneggiate o asportate col taglio dei margini. Dove sono rimaste entrambe intatte, sull'angolo superiore destro del *recto* delle singole carte, esse coincidono. È evidente quindi che la più piccola è soltanto la traccia che guidò il miniatore per l'esecuzione della seconda. Che nessuna numerazione si riscontri sui fogli del terzo gruppo si può spiegare o perchè tali fogli, aggiunti al codice dopo la numerazione delle due sezioni precedenti, non furono mai essi stessi numerati, o perchè la prima numerazione, in cifre minute e molto vicine al margine, fu tagliata via nella riduzione del formato[9], mentre la seconda, compito del miniatore come le iniziali, non fu in questo gruppo mai eseguita.

Mancando la coperta e le prime carte del manoscritto ci manca pure, naturalmente, ogni indicazione di provenienza, di possessori o di data che eventualmente vi si trovasse. Si leggono invece sui 18 fogli lucchesi, in

fu maestro di scuola a Firenze e inoltre compositore di laudi polifoniche, e infine copista molto apprezzato, come dimostrano alcuni bei manoscritti da lui copiati che ancora si conservano nelle biblioteche fiorentine (cfr. E. Li Gotti, *Restauri trecenteschi*, Palermo 1947, pp. 98-102). Ma il confronto delle scritture, malgrado numerose rassomiglianze, non può essere decisivo, trattandosi in *Mn* di scrittura calligrafica, nei mss. fiorentini di scritture corsive. Nelle altre tre composizioni (nelle tre ultime pagine di *Mn*) chi scrive ha potuto con certezza riconoscere la mano di uno scrittore che collaborò ampiamente alla redazione del codice *fonds ital. 568* della Bibliothèque nationale di Parigi. La circostanza più singolare è che a questo scrittore si deve la notazione di quasi tutte le composizioni di Paolo da Firenze (una trentina circa), rarissime negli altri codici.

[7] *Dueil angoisseux* di Binchois. Da ciò che ancora si intravede della notazione precedente si può ricostruire che essa conteneva la ballata *Donna lizadra* di Bartholinus de Padua.

[8] Se ne darà notizia, caso per caso, nell'inventario.

[9] Questa circostanza e la maggiore ampiezza dello specchio utile per la notazione musicale parrebbero indicare che il formato di questo fascicolo fosse leggermente più grande di quello dei precedenti.

relazione al loro impiego nell'archivio notarile di quella città, i nomi di vari notai, accompagnati da date che vanno dal 1485 al 1589[10]. Gli uni e le altre si riferiscono alle raccolte di atti notarili alla cui protezione i fogli furono adibiti; ma possono servire come indicazione probabile che le pergamene si trovassero a Lucca fin dal secolo XVI. Ciò avvalora l'ipotesi dell'origine lucchese del codice, a sostegno della quale il Mancini cita il testo del madrigale *Una panthera in compagnia di Marte,* che non si trova in altre fonti e che contiene evidenti riferimenti a Lucca e alla signoria di Paolo Guinigi, durata dal 1400 al 1430[11]. Queste date, in mancanza di elementi più sicuri, sono valide anche per la datazione del codice e si accordano del resto col suo aspetto paleografico, sia per ciò che riguarda la scrittura dei testi, che la notazione musicale con note nere e rosse, piene e vuote. Un'altra conferma scaturisce dal confronto di due ballate anonime contenute nelle ultime pagine di *Mn* con le redazioni delle stesse opere nel codice *fonds ital. 568* della Bibliothèque nationale di Parigi (sigla = *P*): da tale confronto, oltre che l'identificazione di Paolo da Firenze come autore di una di esse (*La vaga luce*) emerge la singolare identità della scrittura dell'amanuense C di *Mn* con quella di queste e di molte altre pagine di *P*. E poichè la lezione delle due ballate data da *Mn* appare più antica di quella di *P*[12]

[10] Eccone un elenco sommario:

Ser Benedetto Franciotti 1485 e 1494-95
Ser Giovanni Collodi 1489, 1498 e 1595 (sic)
Ser Matteo Antognoli 1496, 1497-98, 1501, 10-11 (sic), 1518-19
Urbano Franciotti « 1506 al 1521 »
Coluccio Busdraghi 1524
Ser Michele Orsucci « 1525 et 1526 »
[Nico]lao Carelli « 1584 al 1589 »

Sono citati inoltre senza data: Ser Piero Mannucci, Ser Matteo Antognoli, Ser Vincenzo Granucci, Ser Michele Serantoni. Anche su uno dei fogli di *MnP,* fra i molti segni e scritture confuse, in un'annotazione che non si riesce interamente a decifrare attraverso la fotografia, si leggono le parole « Ser Carelli de Carellis » e l'anno 1544. Circa il modo in cui queste pergamene possono essere pervenute a Lucca, il prof. Mancini, in una cortese comunicazione verbale, ha segnalato come tramite possibile il collegio Bertolino, antica istituzione del comune di Lucca a Perugia destinata ad ospitare i cittadini lucchesi che si recavano a frequentare l'Università perugina.

[11] Mancini, *Op. cit.*, p. 86. Si può forse riferire ad Ilaria del Carretto, moglie di Paolo Giunigi, morta nel 1405, il madrigale *Per quella strada lactea del cielo,* pure posto in musica dal Ciconia.

[12] Entrambe sono a due voci in *Mn,* mentre in *P* vi è aggiunto un *contra-tenor.*

la datazione di quest'ultimo ms., comunemente fissata verso il 1425-30, costituisce un termine *ante quem* per la data di *Mn*[13].

La ricostruzione dell'ordine dei frammenti pervenutici che sta a base del seguente inventario, poggia in primo luogo, naturalmente, sulle indicazioni fornite dai resti della doppia numerazione nei primi due gruppi di fogli. Ma poichè pochissime carte hanno conservato intatto e chiaramente leggibile il loro numero progressivo, all'insufficienza di questo dato supplisce fortunatamente la consuetudine, frequente in quest'epoca, di disporre le varie voci di una medesima composizione su due pagine contigue. Ciò ha permesso di estendere notevolmente i riferimenti sicuri forniti dalle poche cifre superstiti. Lo stesso metodo, applicato al terzo gruppo di fogli, ha permesso di stabilire la loro posizione relativa in seno al fascicolo da essi formato. Ma, benchè sia lecito presumere che tale fascicolo dovesse seguire quelli che componevano le due sezioni precedenti, la sua posizione assoluta nel codice resta tuttavia imprecisa. Nè d'altronde è stato possibile stabilire la posizione di tutti i fogli dei due primi gruppi. Per conseguenza è stato necessario — anche in considerazione del fatto che i frammenti lucchesi sono attualmente sciolti e senza alcun ordine, e che quelli perugini sono stati modernamente rilegati in un ordine diverso da quello loro spettante — adottare una numerazione moderna. Sono stati numerati i fogli da 1 a 21, distinguendone poi le due carte con le lettere *a* e *b*. L'indicazione di una determinata pagina comprenderà quindi il numero del foglio, la lettera che determina se si tratti della prima o della seconda carta e infine l'usuale indicazione di *recto* e *verso*.

OSSERVAZIONI ALL' INVENTARIO

Numerazione dei fogli. — Nella prima colonna è data la numerazione moderna, secondo quanto è stato detto in precedenza. In corrispondenza sono riportate sulla seconda colonna le cifre della numera-

[13] È da osservare che all'infuori di *P* tre soli manoscritti, incluso *Mn*, contengono una composizione ciascuno di questo compositore. È evidente quindi una relazione personale fra questo copista e Paolo da Firenze. In uno scritto di prossima pubblicazione su questo compositore si darà notizia di un documento conservato alla Biblioteca Vaticana dal quale si può desumere che Paolo operava lontano da Firenze e che portava il titolo di abate di S. Pietro di Pozzuoli, abbazia camaldolese situata a breve distanza da Lucca, soppressa da Gregorio IX nel 1408. Dal che vengono ulteriori elementi in appoggio sia alla datazione che alla connessione del manoscritto con Lucca.

zione antica. come stanno nel codice, o è possibile ricostruirle quando nel codice sono incomplete o mancanti (in questo caso fra parentesi quadre). Le parentesi tonde nella prima colonna significano che le indicazioni della seconda sono omesse perchè fornite in corrispondenza ad un'altra citazione della stessa pagina.

Nomi di compositori. — Sono dati nella forma adottata dal ms. e in corrispondenza con l'indicazione della pagina del codice in cui si trovano. Siccome l'uso più frequentemente seguito nel codice è quello di ripartire l'indicazione sul margine superiore di due pagine contigue, anche questa disposizione è stata mantenuta, aggiungendo però, quando ciò si verifica, dei puntini che denunziano l'incompletezza della dicitura e indicano la direzione in cui essa si completa (o dovrebbe completarsi).

I nomi di compositori stanno normalmente nel codice sul margine superiore della pagina; l'unica eccezione è stata indicata in nota. Per le indicazioni poste sul margine superiore la pratica dei codici di questo periodo insegna a considerarle valevoli soltanto per le composizioni che immediatamente seguono il nome e non per tutte quelle che eventualmente si trovano sulla stessa pagina[14]. Dove una indicazione di autore, insufficiente o del tutto mancante, ha potuto essere stabilita attraverso altri codici se ne dà notizia nell'ultima colonna.

Incipit. — Finchè possibile è stato dato per intero il primo verso. L'indicazione del solo *incipit* in una voce strumentale è stata riportata per intero, compresa la dicitura « etc. » che denunzia la mancanza del seguito. Gli *incipit* sono preceduti da un numero progressivo. Il numero è fra parentesi se l'*incipit* è quello di una sezione di una composizione già citata, e rimanda al numero che accompagna il primo *incipit*.

Voci. — Sono state indicate in corsivo le voci che nel codice sono senza testo; fra parentesi quelle mancanti in conseguenza dello stato frammentario del codice.

Concordanze. — Le sigle usate per la citazione dei manoscritti sono le seguenti:

BU Bologna, Bibl. Univ., ms. 2216 - Sec. XV.
Ch Chantilly, Musée Condé, 1047 - Sec. XV.

[14] Ciò porta ad alcune divergenze fra il presente inventario e gli scritti già citati sullo stesso argomento. Di esse e di altre che il lettore potrà constatare non si è creduto necessario dare ogni volta espressa segnalazione, ritenendo sufficiente avvertire una volta per tutte che i dati riferiti nell'inventario sono stati accertati con scrupolosa attenzione, sopratutto quando essi risultavano divergenti da quelli dati nelle precedenti pubblicazioni.

Esc Escorial, Bibl. V. III. 24 - Sec. XV.
Esc B Escorial, Bibl. IV. a. 24 - Sec. XV.
FL Firenze, Laurenz. Palat. 87 - Sec. XV.
FP Firenze, Bibl. Naz., Panciat. 26 - Sec. XIV-XV.
Lo London, British Mus., add. mss. 29987 - Sec. XV.
Mod Modena, Bibl. Estense, lat. 568 - Sec. XV.
Mü M Munich, Bayr. Staatsbibl., mus. 3192 - Sec. XV.
Mü O Munich, Bayr. Staatsbibl., mus. 3232[a] - Sec. XV.
P Paris, Bibl. Nat., ital. 568 - Sec. XV.
Pad Padova. Bibl. Univ., mss. 1475 e 684 - Sec. XIV-XV.
Pad B Padova, Bibl. Univ., ms. 1115 - Sec. XV.
Parma Parma, Archivio di Stato, framm. - Sec. XV.
PC Paris, Bibl. Nat., franç. nouv. acq. 4379 - Sec. XV.
PR Paris, Bibl. Nat.. franç. nouv. acq. 6771 - Sec. XV.
Pz Paris, Bibl. Nat.; franç. nouv. acq. 4917 - Sec. XV.
RU_2 Roma, Bibl. Vat., Urb. lat. 1411 - Sec. XV.
Str Strasbourg, Bibl. Nat., M. 222 C. 22 - Sec. XV (codice bruciato nel 1870)
Tr 88 Trento, Castello del Buon Consiglio, ms. 88 - Sec. XV.
Wolk Wien, Staatsbibl., ms. 2777 - Sec. XV.

Ad integrazione delle concordanze elencate nell'inventario si aggiungono qui quelle della ballata *Donna lizadra di zafir vestita* di Bartholinus de Padua[15] che occupava le cc. 1a'-2a prima che queste fossero raschiate per accogliere la notazione di *Dueil angoisseux* di Binchois: *PR* 18'; *FL* 108'.

Nella descrizione di una serie di trattenimenti musicali contenuta nel « Saporetto » di Simone Prodenziani (principio del XV sec.) sono citate le seguenti composizioni di *Mn*: 1 *La douce ciere,* 7 *La sacrosancta carità d'amore* (citazione incerta), 9 *Le aurate chiome,* 62 *Imperiale,* tutte di Fr. Bartholinus de Padua; 24 *Rosetta che non cambi mai colore,* 25 *Un fior gentil,* 31 *Ie suis navvrés,* 32 *Ad ogne vento* di A. Zachara de Teramo; 19 *Donna s'i' t'ò fallito* di Francesco Landini; 20 *Con lagreme bagnandome* di Jo. Ciconia; 57 *Non credo, donna* anonimo[16].

[15] Cfr. la precedente nota 7.
[16] Cfr. Debenedetti, *Il « Sollazzo » etc.,* già citato, pp. 169-177.

Note . — Questa colonna riunisce indicazioni di vario genere. Sono qui segnalati i nomi di autori non indicati, o insufficientemente indicati nel codice, che risultano da altre fonti. Le pubblicazioni contenenti riproduzioni in facsimile o trascrizioni sono indicate con le seguenti abbreviazioni:

BuMD Bukofzer (Manfred F.), « Two mensurations Canons » in *Musica Disciplina,* II (1948), 165-171.
DTO *Denkmaeler der Tonkunst in Oesterreich,* Wien 1894-1938. 83 vol.
EWL Ellinwood (Leonard), *The Works of Francesco Landini,* Cambridge, Mass. 1939.
Gand Gandolfi (Riccardo), *Illustrazione di alcuni cimeli concernenti l'arte musicale in Firenze,* Firenze 1892.
GhA Ghisi (Federico), « Bruchstuecke einer neuen Musikhandschrift der italienischen Ars nova » in *Archiv f. Musikforschung,* VII (1942), p. 17-39.
GhJ Ghisi (Federico), « Italian Ars Nova Music » in *Musica Disciplina,* I (*Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music*), fasc. 3 (1946), 173-191 e Supplement (fasc. 4).
MMA Besseler (Heinrich), *Die Musik des Mittelalters u. der Renaissance,* Potsdam 1931.
RiB Riemann (Hugo), *Sechs bisher nicht gedruckte dreistimmige Chansons von Gilles Binchois,* Wiesbaden 1892.
WGM Wolf (Johannes) *Geschichte der Mensural-Notation,* Leipzig 1904, 3 vol.

L'indicazione delle pubblicazioni di testi sarà data in seguito.

Gli adattamenti a testi religiosi (*contrafacta*) sono segnalati nell'Inventario con riferimento alle concordanze indicate nella precedente colonna. Non sono stati compresi, perchè non è possibile accertare l'identità del testo musicale, gli adattamenti a testi di laude risultanti da fonti letterarie. Se ne dà qui una serie: 6 *Per un verde boschetto* (Bart. de Padua), 18 *Va pur, Amore* (Landini), 19 *Donna s'ì t'ò fallito* (Landini), 20 *Con lagreme bagnandome nel viso* (Ciconia), 64 *O chuor del corpo mio* (anonimo), 71 *S'i' ti so' stato* (Landini), 74 *S'avesse forza sdegno* (Bonaiutus Chorsini?).

Il repertorio di *Mn* comprende inoltre alcune composizioni di A. Zachara de Teramo i cui *incipit* si ritrovano insieme al nome dell'autore in testa ad altrettante composizioni di pezzi dell'Ordinario nel cod. Bologna, Liceo Musicale (oggi Conservatorio di Musica) Q 15 (*olim* 37), l'inventario del quale è stato pubblicato da G. de Van in un precedente fascicolo (*Musica Disciplina,* II 1948, 231-57). Di una sola di esse si aveva

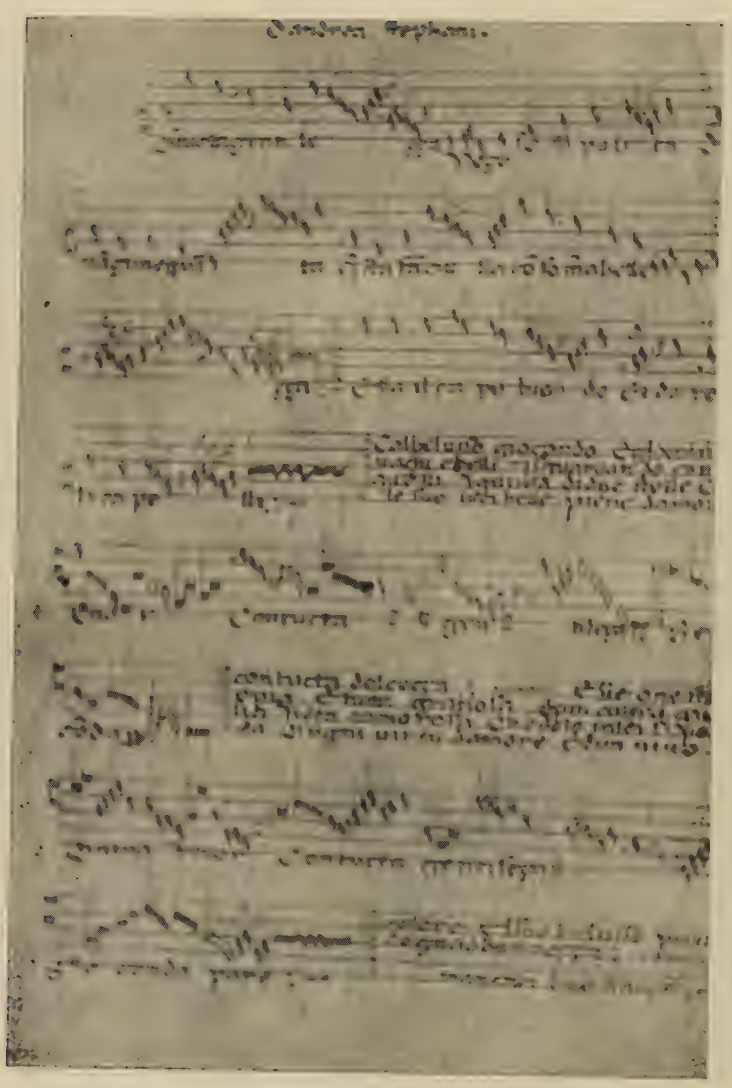
già la musica in un manoscritto finora poco noto (N. 24 *Rosetta,* in *Pz* 20'-21); sono soltanto in *Mn* i numeri 25 *Un fior gentil,* 26 *Deus Deorum* e 32 *Ad ogne vento.* Quest'apporto di *Mn* ha particolare importanza per la storia della Messa polifonica, dacchè il rapporto fra i pezzi liturgici e quelli profani non è quello consueto dei *contrafacta,* ma una vera e propria amplificazione ed elaborazione degli elementi polifonici della composizione originale. Un caso analogo si riscontra per un'altra composizione pure contenuta in *Mn,* la ballata *(Dueil angoisseux* di Binchois (N. 2); in questo caso però l'elaborazione (una intera messa) non è dello stesso autore della composizione profana, ma di altro compositore, Bedingham.

Altre abbreviazioni. — Oltre le usuali e quelle già citate sono state adoperate le seguenti altre abbreviazioni:

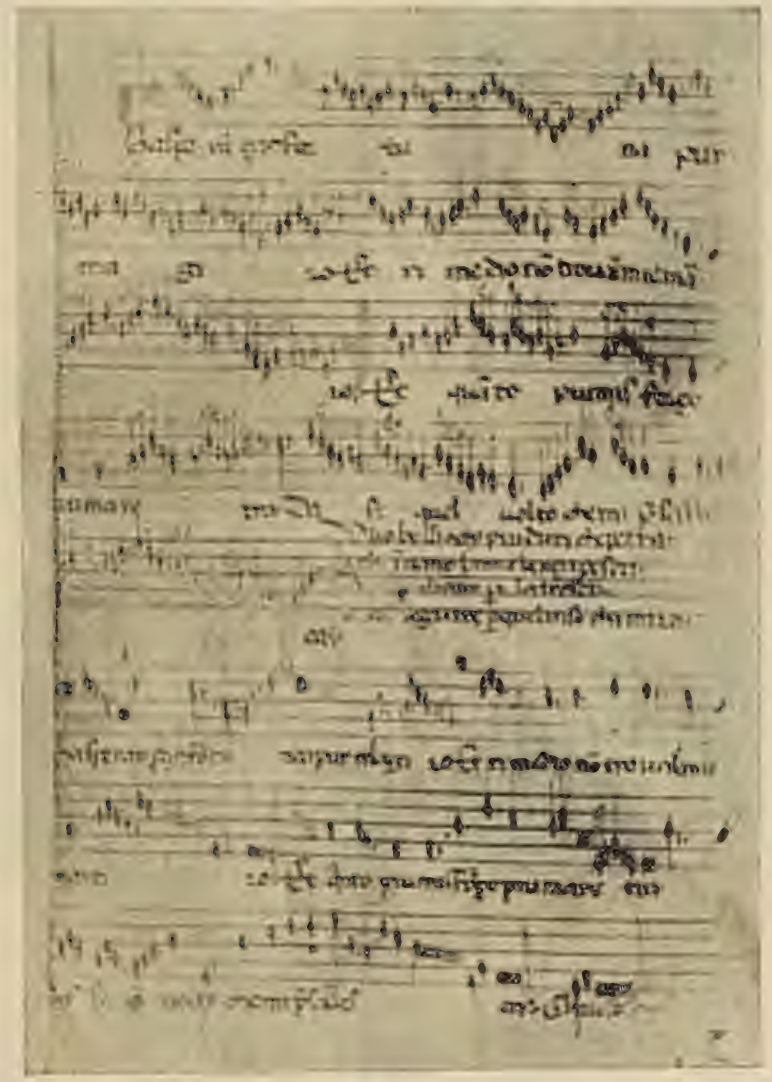
Adatt. = Adattamento
B = Ballata (forma italiana)
Bd = Ballade (forma francese)
C = Cantus
Can = Canone
Ct = Contratenor (con testo)
Ct = Contratenor (senza testo)
framm. = frammento
M = Madrigale
parz. = parziale
R = Rondeau
T = Tenor (con testo)
T = Tenor (senza testo)
Tr = Triplum (senza testo)
V = Virelai
V. = Voci.

c. 2a' - Serva çiaschuno chome facto a luy di Fr. Bart. de Padua
(esempio del primo gruppo di fogli)

c. 21a - A tanti homini tanti volere — anonimo
(es. del 3° gruppo di f.)



c. 18b - Con tucta gentileçça — Andrea Stephani
(scrittore B)



c. 16b' - Tra sperança e fortuna — anonimo
(scrittore C)

Foglio		Compositore	Incipit	Forma	Voci	Concordanze	Note
			SEZIONE A				
1a	XX... (1)	...de padua	1) La douce ciere d'un fier animal	M	(C) T *Ct*	**PR** 13'-14 ; **FP** 108' ; **P** 41'-42 (2 voci) ; **Lo** 14'-15 ; **FL** 101'-102	Fr. Bartholinus de Padua (*P, Lo, FL*) Facs. in *Gand* No. 14 - Pubbl. *WGM* 2/3 No. 45
1a'		—	2) Dueil angoisseux, rage desmesurée (2)	Bd	C *T Ct*	**MüM** 20' (Framm.); **MüO** 107; **Esc** 36'-38 ; **Esc B** 15'17 ; **RU**$_2$ 6'-7 ; **Tr 88** 204'-205 (3 o 4 voci)	Pubbl. *RiB* p. 5 (parz.) ; *DTO VII* p. 242 - Testo di Christine de Pisan - Adatt. *Tr* Rerum conditor *
2a	XX... (1)	Binchois (2)					
2a'		Fr*atr*is bartholinj...	3) Serua çiaschuno chom'è facto a luy	B	C T		
(2a')		—	4) Rechordete de mi madonna mia etc.	B	(C T) *Ct* (3)	**Pz** 24' (2 voci) ; **FL** 117 (2 voci)	Fr. Bartholinus de Padua (*FL*)
(fogli mancanti)		. . . .	. . . . .				
2b	—	...de padua	5) Zoya de noui odori	B	C T	**PR** 24 ; **FL** 119'-120	Fr. Bartholinus de Padua (*FL*)
2b'		Fr*atr*is bartholinj...	6) [P]er un uerde boschetto	B	C T	**PR** 23' (3 voci) , **FP** 66 ; **P** 39'-40 (3 voci) ; **Lo** 80' (3 v.); **FL** 120' (3 v.)	Pubbl. *MMA* p. 161-162 (parz.)
1b	—	...de padua	7) La sacrosancta karità d'amore	B	C T	**PR** 14 ; **FL** 103'-104	Testo di Giovanni Dondi
1b'		Fr*atr*is bartholinj...	8) [Per]chè cangiato è 'l mondo da l'anticho	B	C (T)	**PR** 17 ; **Mod** 39 ; **FL** 115	Pubbl. *WGM* 2/3 No. 43
(fogli mancanti)		. . . .	. . . . .				
3a	XXX	...de padua	9) Le aurate chiome nodose et auolte	M	(C) T	**PR** 20' ; **FL** 107'-108	Fr. Bartholinus de Padua (*FL*)
3a'		Fr*atr*is bartholinj...	10) Sempre, donna, t'amay de pura uoglia	B	C T *Ct*	**PR** 15'; **FL** 112' (2 voci)	
4a	XXX[I]	...de padua					
4a'		Fr*atr*is bartholinj...	11) Non chorrer troppo e tien(j) la mano al freno	B	C T	**PR** 22 ; **FL** 116 (3 voci)	
(fogli mancanti)		. . . .	. . . . .				
4b	—	—	12) La belle flour etc.	R	(C) *T*		
(4b)		—	13) Mal ui loyauté d'estre amore[ux]	R	C *T*		
4b'		—	14) [Mon b]el amy corteus e gratieux	R	C *T*		
(4b'-3b)		—	15) [Mon b]el amy, mon *con*fort et ma ioye	R	C *T Ct* (4)		

(1) Margine tagliato. Siccome è poco probabile che un terzo X seguisse i primi due è da ritenere che tutte le carte del fascicolo appartengano alla ventina. — (2) Questa composizione e il nome di Binchois sono riscritti su due pagine che già contenevano un'altra opera (la ballata *Donna lizadra* di Bartolinus de Padua). La nuova scrittura sembra di mano dello scrittore B. — (3) Incompleto lo stesso *Ct*. — (4) Il *Ct* è aggiunto in basso della c. 3b sotto quello del No. 16.

* *Dueil angoisseux*. Pubbl. anche in *Das Chorwerk*, Heftzz (Wolfenbüttel 1933, trascr. W. Gurlitt) e in *Foètes et musiciens du XV*^{e} *siècle*, Ed. par E. Droz et G. Thibault, Paris, 1924.

Foglio		Compositore	Incipit	Forma	Voci	Concordanze	Note
3b	—	Fr*atris* Antonij de ciuidal	16) Merçi, pour Dieu, merçi, ma dame belle	R	C *T Ct*		
3b'		Fr*atris* Antonij...	17) [Loin]gtemps j'ai mis mon cuer, mo*n* pensemen*t*	R	*Tr* C *T* (5)	**FP** 38	*FP* Frate Antonio de Civitate
(fogli mancanti)		. . . . .					
		SEZIONE B					
5a	XXXXVII	...de florentia	18) Ua pur, amore, con le reti tue	B	C T	**FP** 9; **P** 70; **FL** 171	Fr. Landini - Pubbl. *EWL* p. 165-66
5a'		Franciscj cecj	19) Donna s'i' t'ò fallito	B	C (T)	**FP** 1; **PR** 34; **P** 85'-86; **Lo** 23; **FL** 158	Pubbl. *EWL* p. 81-82
(fogli mancanti)		. . . .	. . . .				
5b	[LIV ?] (6)	Ciconia	20) Con lagreme bagnandome el uiso	B	(C) T	**P** 52'-53; **Pc** 62' (T solo)	Testo di Leonardo Giustinian - Morte di Francesco da Carrara? (7)
(5b)		—	21) Aue uergene et c.	R	(○) *T Ct*		
5b'		Johan*nes* ciconia	22) La fia*mm*a del to amor che già me strinçe	B	C T		
6a	LV	S*er* Niccholay prepositi (8)	23) Donna, posso io sperare (9)	B	C T		
6a'		Magister Anto*n*ius çachara...	24) Rosetta che no*n* canbi may colore	B	C (T)	**Pz** 20'-21	
(mancano le cc. 66-67)		. . . .	. . . .				
7a	LVIII	...de teramo	25) Un fiore gentil m'apparse	B	C *T* (10)		Pubbl. *GhJ.* Suppl. p. 13 (fram.)
7a'	*Mn P*	Çachara...	26) Deus deo*rum* pluto, or te regratio	B	C T		Pubbl. *GhJ.* Suppl. p. 14-15
7b	LVIIII	...de teramo					
7b'		Magister Anto*n*ius çachara...	27) Amor nè tossa no*n* se po' celare	B	C (T) *Ct* (11)		Pubbl. *GhJ.* Suppl. p. 15-16 (fram.)
(mancano le cc. 60-61)		. . . .	. . . .				
6b	[LXII]	...de teramo	28) Plorans ploraui perchè la fortuna	M	(C) T		Miracolo di S. Iacopo ?
6b'			(28) In ulnis patris expirao cu*m* pianto (12)		C T		
8a	[LXIII]	Magister Za:harias(13)	29) Sol me trafige 'l cor l'aquila bella	B	C *T Ct*	**Mod** 13'-14 (2 voci); **FL** 177' (2 voci)	Pubbl. W*GM* 2/3 No. 63 (da *FL*)

(5) Forse anche un *Ct* stava sulla carta successiva perduta. — (6) Manca la numerazione; tuttavia in favore della cifra indicata fra parentesi stanno i seguenti elementi; 1) che sul *verso* una traccia rossa sembra corrispondere all'iniziale della c. LV; 2) che, sempre sul *verso*, il nome di Johannes Ciconia è scritto per intero su una sola pagina, ciò che concorda con la presenza di una composizione di altro autore sulla c. LV. — (7) Il testo di questa ballata è incluso in due antiche stampe del Giustinian; ma si sa che sotto il nome di lui verso la fine del sec. XV andavano molte composizioni che non gli appartenevano. D'altra parte nel cod. 1764 della Bibl. Riccardiana di Firenze lo stesso testo è accompagnato dalla nota « Ballata fatta per Messer Francesco Signor di Padova » che il Debenedetti (*Il « Sollazzo »* etc., Torino 1922. p. 76) riferisce alla morte di Francesco il Vecchio (1393). Tale data non si accorda nè con la nascita del Giustinian (1388), nè con le notizie secondo le quali l'attività del Ciconia a Padova comincia verso il 1401. E' più probabile dunque che si tratti della morte di Francesco Novello (1406). — (8) Indicazione aggiunta (dallo scrittore C) in luogo di altra raschiata. — (9) Il testo (in dialogo) di questa ballata può essere ricostruito soltanto tenendo conto del fatto che il compositore lo distribuì fra le due voci (attribuendo al T la parte femminile) e aggiunse qualche battuta, guastando la misura dei versi. — (10) *T* (o *Ct*) incompleto. — (11) *Ct* incompleto. — (12) Ritornello del No. 28. — (13) Indicazioni quasi completamente asportate dal taglio dei margini superiori.

Foglio		Compositore	Incipit	Forma	Voci	Concordanze	Note
8a'		Magister Antonius çachara... (13)	30) Ciaramella, me dolçe ciaramella	B	C T Ct		
9a	[LXIV]	...de teramo (13)					
9a'		Magister [çachara...] (13)	31) Ie suy navvrés tan fort, o dous amy (14) / Gnaffi'a le guagnele (14)	B	C T Ct		
10a	LXV	...de teramo					
10a'		Zacharias...	32) Ad ogne uento uolta come foglia	B	C T (*Ct*) (15)		
11a	[LXVI]	...de teramo					
(10a'-11a)		—	33) Spesso, fortuna, cridote	B	C T		
11a'		Antonellus Marot...	34) Del glorioso titolo d'esto duce (16)	M	C T		
11b	LXVII	...de caserta					
(11b)		—	35) De mia farina fo le mie lasagne	B	C T		
11b'		Antonellus...	(34) Ma questo è quel che per vertù celeste (16)	—	C T		
(11b')-10b	[LXVIII]	...Marot	36) A pianger l'ochi mey pur mo commença	B	C T	**Pad B** 2' (C solo) : **Pi** f. A	
10b'-(9b)		Antonellus...	37) Più chiar ch'el sol in lo mio cor Lucia (17)	B	C T *Ct*	**Parma** 233	*Parma* «Contratenor M. d. Per[usio] »
9b	[LXIX]	[...Marot] (18)	38) De', uogliateme oldire	B	C T		
9b'		Antonellus... (19)	39) Con dogliosi martire	B	C T		
8b	[LXX]	[...Marot] (18)	40) Or tolta pur me sey da l'ochi mey	B	C T		
8b'		Antonellus...	41) Madonna, io me ramento	B	C T		
(mancano le cc. 71-73)		. . . .	. . . . .				
12a	[LXXIV]	...de ciuidal	42) Uous soyes tres bien uenus	R	C *Tr T Ct* (20)		
(12a)		—	43) (Secunda pars contratenoris. Atandre)	V	(*C T*) *Ct*		
12a'		—					*Ch* Jo. Vaillant; *Str* Machaut? - Adatt. *Str* Ave virgo, *Mü O* Adhoremus, *Wolk* Der May mit lieber Zal - Pubbl. (da *Wolk*) *WGM* 2/3 No. 76, *DTO* IX, 1 No. 87
12b	LXXV	—	44) Par maintes fois ay ouy recorder	V	C *T Ct*	**Ch** 60 ; **Str** 65' (No. 101) ; **Mü O** 27'-28 (2 voci) ; **Wolk** 19 (2 voci)	
12b'	—	—	(44) Si uous suppli (21)		*C T Ct*		

(14) Testi di oscuro significato, entrambi in forma di ballata. Il primo è suddiviso fra C e T ; il Ct ha il secondo. — (15) L'inizio di un *Ct* è aggiunto sull'ultimo pentagramma della c. LXVI sotto il T del No. 33, ma non è continuato nemmeno fino a riempire tutto lo spazio disponibile. — (16) A c. LXVII, dopo il T, la nota « Volta carta per la volta ». Effettivamente sul *verso* sta il ritornello *Ma questo è quel*. — (17) Il *Ct*, aggiunto sulla c. LXIX dopo il T del No. 38, richiese per esser completato pentagrammi supplementari sulla pagina stessa e sulla precedente. — (18) Indicazione completamente asportata. — (19) Indicazione quasi completamente asportata. — (20) *T* e *Ct* in forma di *pes* ostinato. — (21) Seconda parte del No. 44. La carta è completamente sbiadita e lacera.

Foglio		Compositore	Incipit	Forma	Voci	Concordanze	Note
13a	LXXX	Joh. Fulg[inatis] (22)	45) Mercede, o donna, i' moro	B	C T		
13a'		Magister iohannes...	46) I canj sono fuora per	M	C T		Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 2
14a	LXXXI	...Ciconia	le mosse				(T solo)
(13a'-14a)		—	47) Chi uole amar ame cum uera fede	B	C T		Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 2 (C solo)
14a'		[Johannis...] (23)	48) Caçando un giorno	M	C T		Facs. *GhJ* p. 191 - Pubbl. *GhA* p. 35-36 and *GhJ*
15a	LXXXII	...Ciconie	vidi una ceruetta				Suppl. p. 3-4
(13a'-15a)		—	49) Gli atti col dançar	B	C *T Ct*		Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 5 6
15a'		[Magister Johannes...]	50) Una panthera in con-	M	C T *Ct*		Governo di Paolo Guinigi - Facs. *GhA*
15b	LXXXIII	...Ciconia	pagnia de Marte (24)				p. 19 - Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 6-9
		—	51) Le ray au soleyl qui dret som kar meyne	Can	2 (= C *T*)		Canon: "Dum tria percurris quatuor ualet Tertius unum. subque diapason sed facit alba moras" Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 9 e *BuMD* p. 169
(15b)		—	(50) Dando a ciascun mortal che ne sia degno (24)		C T *Ct*		
15b'-(14b)							
14b	[LXXXIV]	Ciconia	52) Chi nel seruir anticho me conduce	B	C *T Ct*		Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 10 11
14b'		Johannes. .	53) Per quella strada lactea del cielo	M	C T		Ilaria del Carretto? - Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. 11-12 (framm.)
13b	LXX[V]	...Ciconia					
13b'		Johannes...	54) Poy che morir mi conuiem per to amore	B	C T		Pubbl. *GhJ* Suppl. p. 13 (framm.)
(fogli mancanti)		. . . . .					
			SEZIONE C				
16a	—	—	55) Piangono l'ochi e l'alma mia suspira	B	C T		
16a'		—	56) Ayme per tucto l'or	B	C T		
17a	—	—	una da undici				
(16a'-17a)	—	—	57) Aylas quant ie pans le biauté de mamour	R	C *T Ct* (25)		
17a'		—	58) Non credo, donna	B	C T		
18a	—	—	che la dolçe fiamma				

(22) Indicazione aggiuta da altra mano. — (23) Indicazione completamente mancante. — (24) A c. LXXXII*v* al termine del Cantus sta la nota: "Verte folium pro ritornello". Effettivamente il ritornello *Dando a ciaschun mortale* sta sulla c. LXXXIII*v*. — (25) Un pentagramma supplementare è aggiunto in basso della carta 16a per completare il *Ct*.

Foglio		Compositore	Incipit	Forma	Voci	Concordanze	Note
(17a'-18a)		—	59) Tal sotto l'acqua pescha	B	C T	**FL** 86'	Mag. Nicolaus Prepositi de Perugia (*FL*)
18a'		—	60) Fugir non posso dal	B	C T	**BU** p. 87 ; **PC** 63 (T solo)	
19a	—	—	tuo dolçe volto				
(18a'-19a)		D'Andrea stephanj(26)	61) I' sentì matutino	B	C T		
19a'		—	62) Inperiale sedendo fra	M	C T *Ct*	**PR** 13 (T solo) ; **PR** 22'-23 (2 voci) ; **P** 47'-48 (2 voci) ; **Mod** 29'-30 (2 voci) ; **FL** 109'-110 (2 v.)	Mag. Fr. Bartolinus de Padua (*FL*) (*Mod* : Dactalus de Padua)
20a			più stelle (27)				
20a'-(21a)		—	(62) Nel meço un saracin con l'ale d'oro		C T *Ct*		
21a	—	—	63) A tanti homini tanti uolere	B	C T		
21a'		—	64) O chuor del corpo mio, perchè me fay	B	C (T)		
(21a')		—	65) Mille merçe, o chara mia luce	B	(C) T		
(manca 1 foglio)		. . . .	. . . . .				
21b	—	—	66) Je suy, madame, en departir	R	C *T*		
(21b)		—	67) Merci, merci, noble creature etc.	V	(C T) *Ct*		
21b'							
20b	—	—	68) O pensieri vani, o speança fallace	M	C T		
(21b'-20b)		—	69) De', tristo mi, topinello	B	C T		
20b'	—	—	70) Spinato intorno al cor	B	C T		
19b			come spinoso				
19b'		Di franciesco degi'organj	71) S' i' ti so' stato e ugl'esser fedele	B	C T	**FP** 8 ; **P** 89-90; **FL** 142' ; **PR** 48'-49 ; **Pad** 51'	Scritt. B - Pubbl. EWL p. 161-62
18b	—	D'andrea sthephanj	72) Con tucta gentileçça	B	C *T Ct*		Scritt. B
18b'		D'andrea stephanj	73) Morte m'à sciolt', amor, d'ogni tuo legge	M	C T		Scritt. B
17b	—	—					
17b'		[...] pitor (28)	74) S'auesse força sdegno	B	C T		Scritt. C - Forse « Bonanaiutus Chorsini pitor »
16b	—	—	quant'amore				
(17b'-16b)		—	75) La uaga luce che ffa inuidi 'al sole	B	C T	**P** 71'-72 (3 voci)	P[aulus] A [bbas de Florentia] (*P*) - Scritt. C
16b		—	76) Tra speança e fortuna pur m'agiro	B	C T	**P** 130'-131 (3 voci)	Scritt C

(26) Indicazione aggiunta sul margine laterale, di mano dello scrittore — (27) C e T della prima parte del madrigale. Non essendo sufficiente lo spazio per il *Ct* (probabilmente aggiunto) nn « residuum contratenoris » sta a c. 20a' sotto il C e T. del ritornello *Nel mezzo*. Il *Ct* del ritornello sta sulla c. 21a. — (28) Indicazione quasi completamente asportata col taglio al margine inferiore. Il Mancini legge « Mingacius pitor ; il Li Gotti « Bonaiutus pitor ». Trattasi, in ogni caso, di una aggiunta di mano diversa dai tre compilatori della raccolta.

THE EARLY DEVELOPMENT OF THE ORGAN RICERCAR

WILLI APEL

The general facts about the organ ricercar of the sixteenth century are well known. The details of its development, however, have been hardly investigated. Even specialists have been content with making generalized statements, without sufficient attention to the fluctuations and changes that are bound to appear in the evolution of a musical form existing for such a long time as was the case with the ricercar. Perhaps the most universal misconception is that concerning the relationship of the ricercar to the sixteenth-century motet. This relationship is usually expressed in phrases such as « the ricercar developed from the motet », or « the ricercar is the instrumental counterpart of the motet », or, to quote a more definite statement from G. Frotscher's *Geschichte des Orgelspiels* (Berlin, 1935, vol. I, p. 178): « Entwicklungen und Wandlungen bei der Gestaltung des Ricercars im sechzehnten Jahrhundert erklären sich in esrster Linie aus der Verschiedenheit des motettischen Vorbildes ».

These statements do not give a correct picture of the situation, as will appear from the subsequent explanations. A more nearly correct summary would run as follows: The ricercar started out as an independent type of lute and organ music, came under the decisive influence of the motet, but followed a largely independent course of development.

The early lute ricercars, as contained in Petrucci's lute books of 1508-10, interest us here only insofar as they clearly refute the theory that the ricercar developed from the motet. These pieces are short « preludes » (as they may tentatively be called) written in a quasi-improvisatory style that has nothing in common with the style of the motet of that period, or of any other period. Nor is this theory correct if restricted to the organ ricercar, as appears from the earliest examples contained in Marcantonio da Bologna's *Recerchari, Motetti, Canzoni, Libro primo* of 1523[1]. Marcantonio's two ricercars are extended compositions of an extremely vague

[1] Published in K. Jeppesen, *Die italienische Orgelmusik am Anfang des Cinquecento,* Kopenhagen, 1943.

character. They can be best described as the organ counterpart of the early lute ricercars, since they show the same mixture of chordal elements, passages, and sporadic imitation, all magnified in proportion to the sizes of the two instruments. Each ricercar precedes a liturgical composition, the first a *Salve virgo,* and the second an *O stella maris.* In both cases the ricercar and the subsequent « motet », as it is referred to in the title, are in the same key, and this fact certainly strenghtens the impression that the ricercar served as an introductory piece. A very similar case exists in one of the early Italian lute books, that is, the *Tenori e contrabassi intabulati* of Franciscus Bossinensis, published in 1509. This contains, in addition to a number of frottolas, 26 ricercars which, as is explicitly stated, « serveno ale frottole secondo l'ordine de le littere sottoscripte », that is, they serve for the frottolas according to the letters A to G, which appear with every ricercar indicating with which frottole it can be combined [2].

Terms such as « prelude » or « toccata » have repeatedly been used in order to describe the early ricercars for the lute or for the organ, and such designations are justified by considerations of style as well as of form or function. A difficulty exists, however, insofar as they are entirely inappropriate for the later ricercars which, being written in a strictly imitative style, do not have the remotest resemblance to anything that is suggested by the term prelude or toccata. Are we to assume that the word « ricercar » meant so little to the musicians of that time as to admit a change of meaning into its very opposite? To raise the question means to deny it. It is, therefore, misleading to label the early ricercars « prelude » or « toccata », although they may appear to us as such, and it is equally misleading to call the later ricercars « instrumental motets », although we may be inclined to see them in this light. A proper understanding of the historical situation requires that we abandon such designations *a posteriori,* or, at least, that we cease to consider them as equivalents of the term ricercar. Indeed, there is no need for them, since there exists a perfect equivalent of the Italian term in its English cognate form, research. If objection is raised against expressions such as « Research for Lute », « Research for Organ », an excellent substitute is found in the word « study ». This is not only broad enough to include all the various types of ricercar, for lute, for organ, for viola da gamba, for voices, but also carries the general connotation of seriousness and of learnedness

[2] See E. Ferand, *Die Improvisation in der Musik* (1938), p. 381.

which is implied in the Italian term and which is in one way or another apparent in practically all the examples.

Viewed from this standpoint, the striking change of form and style that appears about 1540 in the organ ricercars of Marcantonio's son, Girolamo Cavazzoni, is a change, not from a « prelude » to a « motet », but only a change of methods. In the early ricercars for lute and for organ the method of, shall we say searching, studying, or elaborating is free and evasive, reflecting the same Gothic mentality which shaped the the freely meandering lines of Ockeghem. Particularly in the ricercars of Marcantonio the Gothic spirit is unmistakable. In Cavazzoni's ricercars the free type of musical study or elaboration is replaced by the well-ordered and clarified procedures of the Renaissance. Systematic thought and prescribed practice take the place of free effusion and of semi-improvisation. This change, of course, parallels that which happened in the field of vocal music, say between Ockeghem and Gombert, but in the case of the ricercar the phenomenon is more striking, since instead of a slow development extending over almost a century we find the two opposite principles represented by two succesive generations, father and son.

Marcantoni's ricercars may well be said to be the last extant embodiments of the Gothic period. Those by Cavazzoni, on the other hand, are among the earliest examples showing the consistent application of the principle of imitation, side by side with motets by Gombert and Clemens non Papa. In this connection it is interesting to notice that Cavazzoni wrote his ricercars in his early youth, as appears from the preface to his publications of 1542 and 1543, in which he speaks of himself as « essendo in giovanissimo età » and « ancor fanciullo », — « being of a very youthful age » and « still a youngster ». According to these remarks, he can hardly have been born before 1525.

Turning now to a technical consideration of the ricercars of Cavazzoni and his successors, the influence of the motet is too obvious to need further substantiation. What is more important is that, in spite of this decisive influence. Cavazzoni's ricercars are no mere copies of the contemporary motets, but represent a type of imitative counterpoint in its own right. If the motet can be defined as a composition in which several *motives* are treated in successive *points* of imitation, Cavazzoni's ricercars can be described as compositions in which several *themes* are treated in succcessive *sections* of imitation. In fact, the ricercar differs from the

motet mainly in the fuller imitative treatment of the subjects and, consequently, in the lesser number of sujects, if pieces of comparable length are considered. In a motet a thematic idea is imitated normally four or five times, while the number goes up to eight, nine, thirteen, seventeen, and nineteen in Cavazzoni's ricercars. As a result, the « motive » of the motet becomes a « theme », and the passing point of imitation a fugal section. As a concomitant of this basic difference (which, by the way, becomes even more apparent in the later ricercars, by Andrea Gabrieli and others), there is a tendency toward full cadential endings in the ricercar, as against the continuous style of the motet in which the successive points usually overlap. Moreover, Cavazzoni repeatedly adds a passage in free toccata style at the end of a section, an element entirely foreign to the motet. On the other hand, sections in chordal style, which are often found in the motets, are absent in the ricercars except, occasionally, in the closing measures. Finally, it may be noticed that free voice-writing, impossible in a motet, is very frequent in the ricercars of Cavazzoni, although less so in those of his successors. Considering all these differences, it is difficult to believe that a composer of only 18 or 20 years of age could have written these compositions without precedents. Possibly Willaert may have written organ ricercars, now lost, which served as a model.

The four extant ricercars by Cavazzoni[3] are compositions of about one hundred measures in which from five to nine themes are successively treated in imitative counterpoint. Occasionally a section closes with a passage in free, that is, non-imitative counterpoint, or in toccata style. Except for the first, all the ricercars include several sections in which stretto imitation is employed. Cavazzoni uses this device in a similar manner as do his contemporaries, Willaert and Gombert, in their motets, that is, casually and without attempting to make it a special method of learned style, as was done by the later composers of ricercars.

Fig. 1 shows the diagrams of the four ricercars by Cavazzoni. The letters A, B, C, represent different themes treated in separate sections, and the figures underneath indicate the number of statements of each theme. The letter s stands for stretto; straight dashes designate continuation in

[3] Cavazzoni's ricercars are published in L. Torchi, *L'Arte musicale in Italia* (1897), vol. iii, and in *I Classici della musica italiana,* no. 6 (Quaderno 23-24, edited by G. Benvenuti).

free counterpoint, without imitation; and a wavy lines indicates a passage in toccata style.

Fig. 1

| | | |

It goes without saying that neither analytical schemes nor lists of themes reveal anything about the composer's musical skill or artistic qualifications. We should not like to leave Cavazzoni's ricercars without saying that they show a grandeur of conception, a sincerity of expression, a craftsmanship of contrapuntal writing, a subtleness of treatment, a continuous flow of ideas within a unified frame of thought, that elevate them to the rank of great masterpieces, a rank not always attained by the later ricercars. From the historical point of view too, Cavazzoni's ricercars must be considered epochal. He not only transferred the motet style to the organ but, in doing so, imbued it with new principles that established the ricercar as a form in its own right. If we finally remember that he achieved these results at the age of twenty years or less — « per eshortatione di mio padre », as he naively avers in the preface to his second publication — he appears to us as a youthful genius who should be named together with Purcell and Mozart.

If Cavazzoni reminds us of Mozart, Andrea Gabrieli recalls Haydn, not only because of his long span of life which very likely included that of the other master (he was born *c.* 1510 and died in 1586), but also because he seems to have been slow and late in reaching artistic maturity. His earliest extant publications, the *Sacrae cantiones,* appeared in 1565, and his most important organ works were published posthumously, in 1593 and 1595, by his nephew, Giovanni. Although, of course, such dates of publication reveal nothing definite regarding the time of composition, stylistic considerations support the view that Gabrieli's ricercars are of later date than those by Cavazzoni. If Cavazzoni's ricercars differ from the motet in the smaller number and fuller treatment of the themes, this tendency is carried much further by Gabrieli. Of the seventeen examples contained in the *Libro secondo* (1595) and *Libro terzo* (1596) of his *Ricercari* (*Libro primo* appears to be lost)[4], only one has a number of themes comparable to those found in Cavazzoni, namely, five. Three have three themes, six have two, and the remaining seven are monothematic. Another trait suggestive of a relatively late date of writing is the extensive use of stereotyped coloraturas found in a number

[4] I am greatly indebted to Dr. A. Einstein and to the Music Department of Smith College for having put at my disposal his mansucript copies of the ricercas by Gabrieli and by Merulo. Reprints of Libro II, no. 1 in Torchi, p. 61; of Libro II no. 4 in G. Tagliapietra, *Antologia di musica antica e moderna per pianoforte* (1931-32), i, p. 73.

of Gabrieli's ricercars. In Cavazzoni ornamenting figurations occur sparingly at strong cadential points, and always in the form of a simple written-out trill. In Gabrieli they appear not only more frequently and in more varied shapes, but also often within the melodic motion, as a momentary animation rather than a cadential retardation. This practice clearly reflects the mid-sixteenth-century method of *diminutio:* that elaborate and somewhat external system of trillos, groppos, minutas, tiratas, etc., which makes its first appearance in the books of Ganassi and Ortiz, and which has its counterpart in the excessive decoration in book design, metal work, and other handicraft of the late Renaissance. An example, from Gabrieli's ricercar No. 4 of the *Libro secondo,* is shown in Fig. 3.

Fig. 3. ANDREA GABRIELI, Ricercar Nº 4, *Libro secondo*

While Gabrieli's submission to these conventions of his day can hardly be considered an artistic achievement, he deserves full credit as the originator of the learned style which subsequently became a characteristic attribute of the ricercar. It is in his ricercars that for the first time systematic use is made of inversion, diminution, augmentation, double counterpoint, simultaneous combination of several themes, and similar methods of a more or less scholarly character. True enough, the principles of diminution, augmentation, and inversion are fully present in the canons of the fifteenth century, but the novelty of Gabrieli's procedure lies in the application of these principles. The early Flemish masters used them as notational artifices, indicated by proportional signs or by canonic inscriptions, and applied them to the tenor part only. In Gabrieli's ricercars they are fully incorporated in the contrapuntal web and are used as an integral part of the imitative technique. It is reasonably safe to say that there exist no precedents for these methods of thematic elaboration in the motets of the period. The very presence of a continuous text with ever changing words would seem to militate against the idea of restating a theme in enlarged or diminished

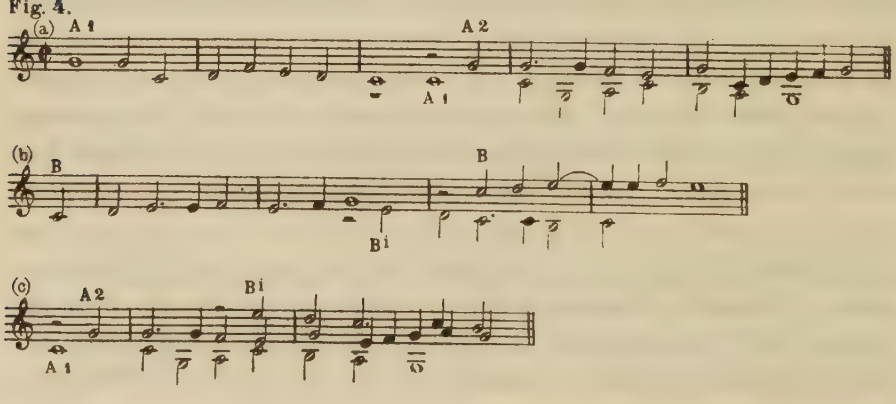
values, in inversion or in combination with other themes. The only special device commonly found in the vocal repertory is the stretto imitation, but this is always used in a natural and artless manner which precludes association with the other methods of the learned style. Only when stretto imitation occurs as the result of intellectual efforts, as it often does in the ricercars of Andrea Gabrieli or of Frescobaldi, can it be included among the devices of scholarly counterpoint.

Obviously, Gabrieli's ricercars represent yet another step — in fact a decisive one — in the direction toward the establishment of the ricercar as an independent type. Aside from his extended use of learned devices, a convincing evidence of this fact exists in his monothematic ricercars. One has only to imagine the idea of a « monothematic motet » in order to realize that we are moving in an entirely different sphere, that is, in the sphere of abstract contrapuntal studies.

Special mention must be made here of a contrapuntal device which, though less striking than augmentation or diminution, is actually of even greater importance in the history of the ricercar; this is the use of a « thematic complex », or, as we shall call it, a « duplex theme ». This means that the complete theme, A, consists of two phrases, A_1 and A_2, the latter being the counterpoint to the thematic answer of the former. In a section based on a duplex theme both parts of the theme are used more or less independently, often singly or in combinations different from that in which they appeared at the beginning.

This method represents the sixteenth-century counterpart to the so-called double-fugues of Handel and Bach. Fig. 4 (a) shows a duplex theme from the Ricercar No. 13 of Gabrieli's *Libro Secondo.*

Fig. 4.



Below is a schematic representation of a number of Gabrieli's ricercars. As in our representation of the ricercars by Cavazzoni, the various themes are indicated by capital letters, A, B, C, etc. Because of the greater complexity of Gabrieli's compositions various other symbols are necessary in order to clarify the essential traits of their musical structure. Exponents, A^2, B^3, etc., indicate augmentation (double, triple, etc.), or diminution ($A^1/_2$, $A^1/_4$) which, although rarely used by Gabrieli, occurs often in the later ricercars. A combination of two themes is indicated by a symbol such as A/B, duplex themes by $A_{1,2}$, inversion by the letter i and stretto by the letter s. Sections are separated by double lines.

Fig. 5

Libro II, No. 1:	A ‖ A^4 ‖ A^3 ‖
No. 2:	A ‖ A^4 ‖ A^2 ‖
No. 4:	$A_{1,2}$ ‖ B ‖ B/C ‖
No. 5:	A ‖ B (s) ‖ C (s) ‖ D (s) ‖ E ‖
No. 13:	$A_{1,2}$ ‖ B ‖ B^i, A_1/B^i, $A_1/A_2/B^i$, etc. ‖
Libro III, No. 4:	A ‖ B ‖
No. 6:	A ‖ B ‖ A/B ‖

The first two ricercars of this group are monothematic, and the theme is presented in various degrees of augmentation. The ricercar No. 4 starts with a section based on a duplex theme, introduces a new theme in the next section, and combines this with a third theme in the last section. No. 5 is somewhat similar to the ricercars by Cavazzoni in its plurality of themes as well as in the absence of learned devices other than stretto. No. 13, on the other hand, is characterized by highly ingenious methods of presentation. The first section is based on the duplex theme previously illustrated (Fig. 4, a). The second section opens with a new theme, B, which is also used in inversion and in various combinations with the two parts of the duplex theme. Fig. 4 (b) shows the theme B in stretto imitation with its own inversion, and Fig. 4 (c) illustrates the contrapuntal combination of A_1, A_2, and the inversion of B.

The ricercar No. 4 of the Libro III consists, so to speak, of two separate fugues, while No. 6 is a true double-fugue, starting with two separate fugues on two themes which are contrapuntally combined in a final section.

These explanations, summary and incomplete though they are, will suffice to indicate Andrea Gabrieli's position in the development of the

ricercar. He started the ricercar on the road which it has pursued ever since, that is the road of learned counterpoint and scholarly methods of imitative treatment. Most of the fundamental devices and many of the technical details of the later ricercar can be traced back to him.

Next in succession to Gabrieli's ricercars are those by Annibale Padovano, who died in 1575. In 1567 he published a collection of *Ricercari* which have been re-edited as organ ricercars in a volume of the Lyre-Bird Press[5]. Actually, these are compositions for instrumental or vocalizing voices, as are also the well known ricercars by Willaert, Buus, Tiburtino and many others. It is entirely possible, and perhaps even probable, that these works were occasionally played on the organ, but such incidental practice does not make them organ music in the proper sense of the word. With equal justification one might consider arrangements of Beethoven's string quartets as piano sonatas. There exist two real organ ricercars by Padovano, in the posthumous publication, *Toccate et ricercari d'organo* of 1604[6]. They can be diagrammed as in Fig. 6.

Fig. 6

A || A/B || B || C || D(s) ||
A || B || B/C || C ||

These recercars represent early examples – the earliest that have come to my attention – indicative of the tendency to establish some sort of connection between the various sections of the ricercar. The themes C and D of the first ricercar are somewhat similar in design to the theme B, and may possibly represent modifications thereof. If so, they might be interpreted as the first attempts in the direction of the variation ricercar of the seventeenth century. Another method to achieve continuity is more clearly indicated in Padovano's ricercars, that is, to introduce a new theme first as a counter-subject to a previous theme, and then to use it independently in a subsequent section. The first of Padovano's ricercars shows this method of thematic continuation between the themes A and B, the second, between B and C.

The last composer to be considered in this study is Claudio Merulo,

[5] Edited by N. Pierront, 1934.
[6] Published in Torchi, p. 77 ff.

who lived from 1533 till 1604. Like A. Gabrieli and Padovano, he was connected with St. Marks in Venice. In 1566, when Padovano went to Graz, Gabrieli became second organist, and Merulo first organist of the Ducal Chapel. Merulo, mostly known for his toccatas, published three books of *Ricercari d'intavolatura d'organo,* the first of which appeared in 1567, while the two others exist only in posthumous editions (or reprints?) from 1607 and 1608. The first book (the only one that has been available for this study[7] contains eight ricercars which are diagrammed in Fig. 7.

Fig. 7

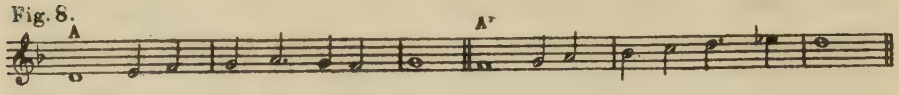
No. 1: A || B || C || D || E || F || G || H ||
No. 2: A/A^{i} || A′, A′^{i} ||
No. 3: A || B$_{1,2}$ || B$_{1}$ || B$_{2}$ ||
No. 4: A || B, B^{i}/C || C (s)
No. 5: A || B || C (s) || D (s)
No. 6: A || A/B || C || C/D || D (s)
No. 7: A || B || C || C (s) || C/D ||
No. 8: A || B || C || D (s) || E/F || F || G ||

A comparison of this diagram with those of the ricercars of Cavazzoni (Fig. 1) and Gabrieli (Fig 5) reveals a number of interesting details. Particularly striking is the presence of two « multi-thematic » ricercars, Nos. 1 and 8, with eight or seven themes, a type that evidently reverts to Cavazzoni. The monothematic ricercar, which is quite frequent in Gabrieli, is represented here by one example only, No. 2. None of Merulo's ricercars shows the extended use of complex contrapuntal devices exemplified by Gabrieli's ricercar No. 13, or of augmentation, as in Gabrieli's Nos. 1 and 2. On the other hand, the method of « thematic continuation, » described previously in connection with the ricercars by Padovano, occurs repeatedly in Merulo, for instance in No. 4 between B and C, in Nos. 6 and 7 between C and D, and in No. 8 between E and F. The principle of thematic modification or variation, possibly adumbrated in Padovano, is clearly present in Merulo. The most striking example of this method occurs in his Ricercar No. 2 which, in its second half, uses a modification of the initial

[7] See fn. 4. No. 6 is published in Tagliapietra, ii, p. 17.

theme as well as of its inversion (indicated in the above diagram by apostrophes). Following are the two versions of this theme:

Fig. 8.



Although Ricercar No. 2 is the only one in which thematic modification appears as an element of the formal structure, incidental use of this method is quite frequent in Merulo, particularly in the closing sections of several of his ricercars.

From the structural point of view Merulo's ricercars are conservative. His methods of formal construction are similar to those of Cavazzoni and Padovano, but show only scant traces of the novel principles encountered in A. Gabrieli. Since Merulo could hardly have remained unaware of the achievements of Gabrieli, who was his elder by circa 25 years, we find here another support for our theory that Gabrieli's ricercars are among his late works, probably composed about 1570. It would be very interesting to find out whether Merulo's *Libro II* and *Libro III* reveal a changed situation.

Progressive features, however, are not entirely missing in Merulo's early collection of ricercars. Of particular interest is the Ricercar No. 7, because of its extended « episodes, » that is, somewhat contrasting passages that are free from thematic material. These occur particularly in the third section (C). A ricercar by Giovanni Gabrieli of 1595, in which this device is used for a monothematic composition, has been designated by H. Riemann as « die älteste wirkliche Fuge mit Divertissements. » [8]

Boston, Massachusetts.

[8] H. Riemann, *Musikgeschichte in Beispielen* (1912), No. 52.

CLAUDE LE JEUNE AND *MUSIQUE MESURÉE**

D. P. WALKER & FRANÇOIS LESURE

In the titles of Claude Le Jeune's works he is mentioned as « natif de Valentienne ». This town provided in the early 16th century a favourable cultural background for a young musician. From 1480 printing was established there [1]. It was widely known for its troops of players [2]; from the 13th century onwards it had possessed a *confrérie* of minstrels [3] and, in the 1530's, maintained a band of oboes [4]. There were several flourishing choir-schools [5] where Le Jeune might have begun his musical education; that of St Jean-Baptiste seems to have been particularly active [6]. But unfortunately nothing is known of Le Jeune's life in Valenciennes [7], not even the date of his birth, which, judging from a portrait published in 1598 [8] and from the chronology of his earliest works, was probably between 1525 and 1530.

The first works of Le Jeune's to be published, four *chansons,* appeared

* This study is drawn from the Introduction to Claude Le Jeune's *Airs* of 1608, in preparation for publication by the American Institute of Musicolgy.

The Editor

[1] H. Lancelin, *Histoire de Valenciennes,* 1933, p. 154 seq.

[2] « Joueuers de farces, mystères... »; see J. Finot, *Invent. sommaire des archives du départ. du Nord,* IV, 293; V, 3: VII, 156, etc.

[3] Attached to the church of Notre-Dame de la Chaussée; see Lancelin, *Op. cit.,* p. 135.

[4] Finot, *Op. cit.,* VII, 296.

[5] On these see Series H of *Arch. depart. du Nord,* passim.

[6] In 1527 Jean Havense was its Maitre de Chapelle (*Arch. du Nord,* 40 H 46).

[7] Documentary research on Le Jeune is made difficult by the great frequency which his surname occurs in 16th century records. There is no monograph on Le Jeune, except for a thesis (*Diplôme d'Etudes Supérieurs*) by J. Rebufat, presented at the University of Paris in 1910. This unpublished work has been summarized by A. Tessier in Riemann's *Dictionnaire de Musique,* 3rd French ed., 1931. An *Esquisse biographique et bibliographique sur Cl. Le Jeune,* Valenciennes, 1845, by E. Bouton, is useless. The article in the 1948 edition of Grove's Dictionary is by J. R. Milne.

[8] At the beginning of Le Jeune's *Dodecacorde* (reedited with a reproduction of the portrait, by Henry Expert).

in 1554 in two collections printed by Phalèse [9], then at Louvain. No more of his music was published until his *Dix Pseaumes de David, nouvellement composez a quatre parties en forme de motets avec un Dialogue a scept,* 1564 [10]. From the dedication of this work it appears that he was under the protection of two gentlemen in waiting of Charles IX: François de la Noue and Charles de Téligny, both active followers of the protestant leader Coligny. Le Jeune presents his work as coming at a favourable moment « apres l'obscur et facheux temps qu'avons veu durant ces troubles passez », that is to say at the time of the Edict of Amboise, which produced a truce in the struggle between catholics and protestants, a truce to which he refers as « ayr plus doux et serain ». From this date onwards he was probably living in Paris. The Parisian music-publishers Le Roy & Ballard in 1565 published a motet of Le Jeune's for three voices, « Nigra sum sed formosa », in a collection [10bis] which also contained works by Claudin de Sermisy and Goudimel. They included some of his work in their anthology «tant des vieux autheurs que des modernes» of 1572 [11], together with that of other newcomers such as Nicolas Millot and Severin Carnet.

*
**

In 1570 Jean-Antonine de Baïf [12], a member of the *Pléiade,* and Thibault de Courville [13], an otherwise obscure French composer, founded in Paris an *Académie de Poésie et de Musique* [14], the chief aim of which was the com-

[9] *Second Livre des Chansons a Quatre parties...,* Pierre Phalese, 1554; Tiers Livre..., 1554.

[10] Paris, Le Roy & Ballard. The *Dialoque à 7* has been reprinted by Expert, who also gives facsimile of the title and dedication (published with the end of Le Jeune's *Octonaires).*

[10bis] Modularum ternis vocibus diversis auctoribus.... volumen primum, Paris, Le Roy et Ballard, 1565 (Paris, Bibl. Ste. Geneviève).

[11] *Mellange de Chansons tant des vieux autheurs que des modernes. A cinq, six, sept, et huict parties,* Paris, Adrian le Roy & Robert Ballard, 1572.

[12] On Baif see Augé-Chiquet, *J-A. de Baif,* Paris, 1909.

[13] On Courville see Michel Brenet, *Musique et Musiciens de la vieille France,* Paris, 1911, p. 212 seq., and Augé-Chiquet, *Op. cit.,* p. 399 seq.

[14] On this Academy see E. Frémy, *L'Académie des derniers Valois,* Paris, 1887; Augé-Chiquet, *Op. cit.,* Ch. IX; Frances Yates, *The French Academies of the 16th century,* London, 1947; D. P. Walker, « The Aims of Baïf's Academy », in *Musica Disciplina.* Vol. I (*Jour. of Renaissance and Baroque Music*), June 1946.

position and performance of *musique mesurée à l'antique*[15]. Le Jeune was closely associated with Baïf from the beginning of the Academy. In a sonnet, published in 1570 at the beginning of Costeley's *Musique*[16], Baïf calls him « le docte Claudin »[17] and numbers him, with Costeley and Courville, among those musicians who « ne me sont de leur aide envieus ». He is also mentioned in company with Courville, Jacques du Faur and Mauduit, in the sapphic ode which, according to Mersenne[18], Baïf wrote in 1571 to celebrate the « viros Academicos ». Le Jeune set to music a vast quantity of Baïf's *vers mesurés à l'antique*[19], and their association probably continued up to Baïf's death (1589). In 1585 Pasquier published an epigram[20] on their close partnership; and from the *Au Lecteur* of the *Printemps* (1603)[21] it appears that they had jointly arranged for its publication before Baïf's death.

Whether Baïf's academy, as an organised institution under royal patronage, continued after the death of Charles IX (May 1573), and whether Henri III's *Académie du Palais*[22] supplanted it or was an extension of it, are doubtful questions. In any case there is no doubt that Baïf, Mauduit and Le Jeune continued with the main work of the earlier academy, the production of *vers* & *musique mesurés à l'antique,* and that Le Jeune continued to move in academic circles. For, in January 1582, he appears as « maistre de la musique » of François, duc d'Anjou, the brother of Henri III[23]; and from two documents of the same date[24] we learn that he

[15] For a description of the principles of *Musique mesurée* and of its theoretical background see lower p. 162.

[16] Paris, Le Roy & Ballard (reedited in part by Expert).

[17] Le Jeune was quite often called « Claudin »; in the earlier part of the century this name designates, of course, Claudin de Sermisy.

[18] Mersenne, *Quaestiones Celeberrimae in Genesim,* Paris, 1623, Qu. 57, XV. There is some doubt about the date which Mersenne gives to the poem, since in it Courville is spoken of as dead, whereas he is known to have been alive in 1580 (see M. Brenet, *Op. cit.,* p. 103).

[19] The original text of Le Jeune's *Pseaumes en vers mesurez* (see lower p. 166) was by Baïf, and probably nearly all the verse in the *Airs* of 1594, *Le Printemps,* and the *Airs* of 1608 (See Augé-Chiquet, *Op. cit.,* p. 406 f.).

[20] Pasquier, *Poemata,* Paris, 1585, fo. 82. Cf. Du Perron on Le Jeune: « Le meilleur qu'il ait fait il le fit à Paris, lors qu'il estoiz chez Baif » (*Perroniana,* Geneva, 1669, p. 174).

[21] Reedited by Expert.

[22] See the works cited above note 14.

[23] Privilege (dated 28 January 1582) of Le Jeune's *Livre de Meslanges,* Anvers, 1585 (reed. by Expert).

[24] Appendix Nos. 1 and 2.

was « maistre des enfans de musicque de Monseigneur, frère du roy » and that he usually moved about with François' court.

François d'Anjou had close connections with most of the leading figures of both academies. In the Letters Patent of Baïf's Academy [25] he is mentioned among those whom Charles IX consulted before giving the Academy his support and who presumably advised him to do so. Baïf dedicated to him his *Jeux* (1572) and his *Etrenes* (1574) [26]. At the beginning of a work of Orando di Lasso [24], who had honoured Baïf by setting one of his *chansons mesurées* to music [27] is a dedication in Latin verse by Jean Dorat to François, in which, after recalling the pacific ethical effects of ancient music, he adjures him to love « piae carmina voci ». Dorat, on Baïf's own word [29], was the original source of the whole project of *vers mesurés,* and had perhaps, by the charm of the scholarly corporate life he created at the Collège de Coqueret, sown the seeds of the later academies [30]. It was to François d'Anjou that Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie dedicated his *Encyclie des Secrets de l'Eternité* (1571) and also, which is more significant, his poem *La Galliade* (1578) [31], the most important single source for the poetic and musical theories of Baïf's academy. Among the gentlemen of his household was La Primaudaye, whose *Academie Françoise* [32] recounts the encyclopaedic debates of « four young gentlemen of Anjou », who may perhaps represent some actual academy under the patronage of François. In 1584 Guy du Faur de Pibrac, who, according to Binet [33], was the originator of Henry III's *Académie du Palais,* was his chancellor. In 1582 Guil-

[25] Reprinted in Appendix of Yates, *Op. cit.,* When the Academy was having difficulties with Parlement and the Sorbonne, Baïf addressed a sonnet to all the royal family, including François « des François l'esperance » (*Oeuvres* ed. Marty-Laveaux, IV, 390), asking: « ... verrés-vous mourir en sa naissance / Votre facture ne avecques si bon heur...? ».

[26] The *Etrenes,* which was also dedicated to other members of the royal family, consisted entirely of *vers mesurés.*

[27] *Moduli quatuor, 5, 6, 7, 8, et novem vocum,* Le Roy & Ballard, 1577.

[28] « Une puce », cf. N.° 20, of the edition of Le Jeune's *Airs* 1608.

[29] Baïf, *Oeuvres,* ed. cit., I, vi.

[30] Cf. F. Yates, *Op. cit.,* pp. 4, 14, 95 & passim.

[31] *La Galliade ou de la Revolution des arts et Sciences,* Paris, 1578. Cf. F. Yates, *Op. cit.,* p. 43 seq.

[32] The first edition of the first part appeared at Paris in 1577, that of the *Suite* in 1580. There were many subsequent editions. Cf. Yates, *Op. cit.,* p. 123 seq.

[33] *Vie de P. de Ronsard,* ed. Laumonier, Paris, 1910, p. 49.

laume Boni published his settings to 3, 4, 5, and 6 parts of the *Quatrains du sieur de Pybrac* [34] and dedicated them to François.

Le Jeune, then, as François' *maitre de la musique,* found himself in an already familiar world of men of letters who were supporters of either or both academies. These were mostly of protestant, or at least very moderate tendencies, as one would expect from the career of François himself.

The duke had also surrounded himself with distinguished musicians. His almoner was the famous castrato Estienne le Roy, abbé de St. Laurent, who was a favourite of Charles IX, and frequently played an important part in court fêtes [35]. One of his *valets de chambre* was Balthazard de Beaujoyeux [36], the creator of the famous *Balet de la Royne* [37]. From 1575 his « premier porte-manteau » was Pierre Dugué [38], a great music lover, who was a friend of the publisher Adrian le Roy and the celebrated lutenist Guy de Clinchant [39]. François seems to have had a particular affection for his lutenist, also a composer, Guillaume le Boullanger, Sieur de Vaumesnil, whom he appointed his first cup-bearer [40] and later in 1576 his « maître d'hôtel ordinaire » [41]. Vaumesnil apparently shared his masters seditious inclinations, for in July 1575 he was arrested on a charge of conspiracy [42]. The next year, perhaps to make up for this unpleasantness, the duke gave him a magnificent residence in the rue d'Orléans at Paris [43]. Another lutenist, a certain Avrilly, who was of humble origin, became one of his favourite « mignons » [44].

Le Jeune had at least two predecessors. Up to 1575 Lambert Fay was the duke's « premier maître de musique » [45], and, from 1577 to 1579 at least, the lutenist Vaumesnil, mentioned above. The names of some of Le Jeune's colleagues and subordinates are preserved: Loys

[34] See E. Droz, *G. Boni, de St. Flour en Auvergne, musicien de Ronsard,* in *Mélanges .... A. Lefranc,* Paris, 1936, p. 279-280.

[35] For 1578: Bib. nat., ms. fr. 20614, fol. 47; for 1580; Arch. nat., KK 238, fol. xlii.

[36] Bib. nat. ms. fr. 20614, fol. 57v; Arch. nat., KK 238, fol. 207.

[37] Cf. infra p. 157.

[38] Bibl. nat., ms. fr. 23029, fol. 140v.

[39] Arch. nat., Minutier central, XI, 57.

[40] Arch. nat., Y 117, fol. 374.

[41] Arch. nat., Y 120, fol. 280.

[42] L'Estoile, *Journal,* ed. L.-R. Lefèvre, 1943, p. 79.

[43] Arch. nat., Y 117, fol. 374.

[44] L'Estoile, *Journal,* ed. cit., p. 358.

[45] Bib. nat., ms. fr. 23029, fol. 140.

Cramoisy, organist spinet-player (1575-82)[46]; Claude Viagot, violinist and cornet-player (dead before 1576)[47]; finally a few singers, such as Blaise Dupont[48], Francois Dulac[49], Jehan Dupouchel[50], and Pierre Ledoien[51].

Although we have no complete list of the musicians in the service of François d'Anjou, these few indications are enough to show that he was a generous patron of music and that his protégés tended to be protestants or « malcontents ». He died on the 10th of June 1584, and on the 27th all the officers and servants of his household presented themselves before Henri III, who sent them away to the Queen mother, saying « qu'il n'estoit possible qu'il les peust voir de bon oeil »[52].

***

Up to this date, 1584, Le Jeune, though presumably already over fifty, had published, in driblets, only a small amount of music: a collection of ten psalms[53] and 35 songs.[54]. It is possible, as has been suggested[55], that as far as his *musique mesurée* was concerned, he was obeying an article of the statutes of Baïf's Academy, according to which the « chansons de l'Academie » might not be published without the consent of all the members[56]. But the dedication and privilege of the *Livre de Meslanges*[57] of

[46] Two receipts of 1577, now in the Bibl. du Conservatoire at Paris, give him this title, which is confirmed for the year 1579 in La Boderie's *Galliade,* fol. 76v.

[47] First member of the corporation of « joueurs d'instruments », later one of the duke's Valets de Chambre. Bib. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12196; Arch. nat., Y 117, fol. 382.

[48] Bib. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12099.

[49] Bib. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12097.

[50] Arch. nat., Minutier central, IV, 2.

[51] Bib. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 12135.

[52] L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* reed. of 1875, II, 160-1.

[53] In 1564 (cf. supra p. 150). There was another edition in 1580.

[54] Four songs in the *Second* and the *Tiers Livre* published by Phalèse in 1554; seven in the *Mellange de Chansons* of A. le Roy & R. Ballard in 1572; four in the *Livre de Meslanges* of Phalèse and Bellere (1575), of which two were republished by Le Roy & Ballard in the *Vingtuniesme Livre* (1577, reed. 1581); four in the *Vingtdeuxieme Livre* of the same publishers (1583), eight in the *Vingttroisieme* (1583) and twelve in the *Vingtquatrieme* (1583).

[55] P.-M. Masson, *Le mouvement humaniste,* in the *Encyclopédie de la Musique,* lère Partie, p. 1304-5.

[56] Statutes, para. 6. (repinted by Yates, Augé-Chiquet, etc., op. cit.).

[57] Reprinted in Expert's (partial) reedition of the *Meslanges.*

1585 give a different explanation: it was on the orders of the king and his brother, and « à la requeste des excellens poëtes de ce temps », that he had composed several works « curieusement recueilliz et redigez par tomes et livres separez », but « l'injure du temps » had prevented him from publishing them. The privilege of this work, dated 28 January 1582, allowed him to publish all these works with any printer of Paris or of any other place outside the realm. This last concession is of interest when one recalls that 1582 was the date of François' second expedition to the Low Countries and of his entry into Antwerp. Le Jeune evidently intended already at this date to give his first collection of secular music to the famous Antwerp publisher Christophe Plantin, who, in 1578, had been asked by Hnri III to become his printer for ten languages, at a salary of 200 *écus d'or*. This printer had close relations with the Parisian firm of Le Roy & Ballard[58] and also with some of the « academic » writers connected with the Duke of Anjou. He had published in 1571 the *Encyclie* of Guy le Fèvre de la Boderie[59] and the *Joyeuse et Magnifique Entrée* of the duke into Antwerp; in consequence of the latter, no doubt, he received a general privilege from the « Prince des Pays-Bas ». He did not, however, publish Le Jeune's work until 1585; it was reprinted by Le Roy & Ballard in 1586 and 1587[60].

It is at this period that Le Jeune's fame as a composer became firmly established. The immediate double reprinting of the *Meslanges* is a sign of his growing popularity. Still more significant is a comparison between the three successive editions of the *Vingtquatrieme libre d'airs et chansons* of A. le Roy and R. Ballard. In the 1583 edition the title merely states that the collection contains works « de plusieurs excelens autheurs », whereas in the 1585 and 1587 editions this phrase is replaced by the names of Claude Le Jeune and Orlando di Lasso[61]. The latter, from a commercial

[58] Cf. J. A. Stellfeld, in *Vlaamsch Jaarboek voor Muziekgeschiedenis*, 1940-41, p. 15, 25. Cf. also, p. 45, an order from an inhabitant of Caen for two copies of the *Meslanges*. For the relations between Plantin and Le Jeune see Stellfeld, *Bibliographie des editions musicales plantiniennes*, Brussels, 1949, 81-87.

[59] V. supra p. 152.

[60] The interval between the date of the privilege and that of Plantin's edition has led some historians to assume that there was an earlier edition, now lost. There are no grounds for this supposition. The privilege for the editions of Le Roy & Ballard is dated 20 July 1586.

[61] These two editions are by no means identical. That of 1583 contains 12 works of Le Jeune, 4 of Salmon, 6 of di Lasso, 2 of Plançon. Those of 1585 and 1587 contain 14 works of Le Jeune, 1 of Plançon, and 5 of di Lasso.

point of view, had had no serious rival at Paris since about 1560. The *Vingtcinquieme, Livre* (1585, 1587)[62] confirms this success: « Orlande de Lassus et Cl. Le Jeune » replaces the phrase that had previously been usual: « Orlande de Lassus et autres ».

Le Jeune had probably already acquired some reputation by contributing music to court festivities. It seems very likely that he and Courville, advised by Baïf, may have contributed some of the music for the mascarade given at the marriage of Henry of Navarre and Marguerite de Valois in August 1572, for which Ronsard wrote the verse, since at that time the Academy was at the height of its prosperity[63]. It is certain that he took part in some of the spectacles performed for the marriage of the Duc de Joyeuse and Marguerite de Vaudemont. It was on this occasion that occurred the curious incident told by Artus Thomas, sieur d'Embry;[64]; he relates the well-known story of the effects of Timotheus' music on Alexander and then continues:

« J'ay quelquefois ouy dire au Sieur Claudin le jeune, qui a, sans faire tort à aucun, devancé de bien loin tous les Musiciens des siecles precedens en l'intelligence de ces modes, qu'il fut chanté un air (qu'il avoit composé avec les parties) aux magnificences qui furent faites aux nopces du feu Duc de Joyeuse...., lequel comme on l'essayoit en un concert qui se tenoit particulierement, fit mettre la main aux armes à un gentilhomme qui estoit la present, & qu'il commença à jurer tout haut, qu'il luy estoit impossible de s'empescher de s'en aller battre contre quelqu'un; & qu'alors on commença à chanter un autre air du mode sous-Phrygien qui le rendit tranquille comme auparavant: ce qui m'a esté confirmé encore depuis par quelques uns qui y assistèrent..... ».

Whatever the historical truth of this anecdote, it is significant in relation to the humanistic doctrines of the Academy[65], particularly since

[62] For the libraries possessing these editions, see Foreword of edition of Le Jeune's *Airs*.

[63] Cf. H. Prunières, *Le Ballet de Cour*, Paris, 1914, p. 71, and Baif, *Oeuvres*, ed. cit. III, 2, a poem, published in 1573 in wich he describes project for drama in verse, music and dance *mesurés à l'antique* and states « nous avons la musique preste que Tibaud et le Jeune apreste ».

[64] *Philostrate de la Vie d'Apollonius Thyaneen ... enrichie d'amples Commentaires par Artus Thomas*, Paris, 1611, I, 282. Thomas was probably also the author of an eulogistic ode at the beginning of Le Jeune's *Printemps*; this mentions the « doux ravissemens » of his music; it is signed « A. T. Seign. d'Ambry ».

[65] Cf. infra p. 164.

Le Jeune himself told the story to his friends. This is confirmed by the independent testimony of the organist Jean Titelouze[66]. Fortunately there is still more certain evidence that Le Jeune took part in the festivities for this marriage. The fact is one of considerable importance, because it was for the same marriage that the *Balet de la Royne*[67] was composed and performed. This work is evidently strongly influenced by humanist ideas both in its general conception and in its musical style[68]; but the authors and composers mentioned in the published version can none of them be directly connected with the Academy[69]. This influence can be satisfactorily explained if one supposes that Le Jeune and Baïf, who also is known to have contributed to some of the spectacles for the marriage[70], were able in some measure to impose their ideas on Beaujoyeux[71], the official creator of the *Balet,* and his collaborators. The two documents published at the end of this study[72] throw some light on Le Jeune's participation in these festivities. Soon after the marriage, Henri III made a gift af 600 *écus d'or* to Le Jeune and to his organist and *valet de chambre* Nicolas de la Grotte, former spinet-player to the King of Navarre. As there was some delay in the payment of this sum, La Grotte, better situated at court, was entrusted by Le Jeune with taking all the steps necessary to obtain it. They had presumably collaborated in composing the music for some ceremony or mascarade connected with the wedding. It is interesting to note that soon after, in 1583, La Grotte published four *chansons mesurées*[73], one of which, *La Belle Aronde,* is unmistakeably a version of the setting which Le Jeune first published in the same year.

[66] *Correspondance du P. Marin Mersenne,* ed. Tannery & de Waard, Paris, 1932, I, 75 (letter of 2 March 1622).

[67] It was performed on 15h October 1581. Beaujoyeux published a description, with text and music, in 1582 with the title *Le Balet comique de la royne.* Cf. H. Prunières, *Op. cit.,* p. 82 seq., and F. Yates, *Op. cit.,* p. 236 seq.

[68] See F. Yates, *Op. cit., loc. cit.,* and D. P. Walker, *The Influence of musique mesurée à l'antique,* in *Musica Disciplina,* 1948.

[69] There is some doubt about the authorship of the *Balet,* since d'Aubigné afterwards claimed to have been its originator (*Oeuvres,* ed. Réaume & Caussade, I, 23). D'Aubigné was only later converted to *vers mesurés* by Rapin and La Noue (see *ibid.,* I, 454; III, 271); Le Jeune set four of his *poèmes mesurés* (cf, infra, note 122).

[70] L'Estoile, *Mémoires-Journaux,* II, 28.

[71] Cf. supra p. 153.

[72] Appendix Nos. 1 and 2.

[73] « Il a menty le malheureux », « La belle Aronde », « Lesse moy osu », « Ma gente bergère », in *Premier Livre d'airs et chanson...,* Paris, Leon Cavellat, 1583. Cf. Foreword of ed. of Le Jeune's *Airs.*

*
**

From the death of François d'Anjou (1584) until the entry of Henri IV into Paris (March 1594) it may be supposed that Le Jeune was able to pass safely through the dangers of civil war owing to the protection of his prostestant patrons. He had known François de la Noue at least since 1564 [74], and it appears from the dedication of the *Meslanges* (1585) that he had taught his son, Odet de la Noue [75], the « premiers rudimens » of music. He seems at some time to have been in the service of the Duc de Bouillon, Vicomte de Turenne, since, in dedicating to him his *Dodecacorde* (1598), he calls himself his « domestique ». Bouillon's second wife was Elisabeth of Nassau [76], and Le Jeune enjoyed the protection of all this family, including her father, William of Orange [77]. He taught the « principes » of music to Louise of Nassau, Duchess of Bavaria [78], sister of Elisabeth. D'Aubigné also was a friend and protector [79].

He apparently remained in Paris until the siege in 1590, when he escaped with the help of Jacques Mauduit, one of the chief composers of Baïf's Academy [80]. Mersenne recounts the incident thus [81]:

« ...durant le siege de Paris il (i. e. Mauduit) sauva les douze modes [i. e. his *Dodecacorde*] de Claudin Le Jeune, qui s'enfuyoit par la porte de Saint-Denis, & les autres oeuvres qui n'estoient pas encore imprimées, de sorte que tous ceux qui s'en servent maintenant dans leurs Concerts, en sont entierement redevables à nostre Mauduit, qui arresta le bras du Sergent, qui les jettoit au feu du corps de garde, car comme il estoit de la Justice, & reconnu scavant en musique, il persuada aisément à la soldatesque de luy remettre le tout entre les mains, laissant immoler à leur zele la confession de foy huguenotte & séditieuse de Claudin, signée de sa main,

[74] Cf. supra p. 150.

[75] Cf. infra p. 166.

[76] To whom Le Jeune's sister, Cecile, dedicated his *Second Livre, contenant cinquante Pseaumes de David, mis en musique a III. Parties,* Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1608.

[77] Ibid., Dedication.

[78] Dedication of Le Jeune's *Premier Livre, contenant cinquante Pseaumes .... a III. Parties,* Veuve R. Ballard & P. Ballard, 1602.

[79] Cf. infra p. 166.

[80] On Mauduit see M. Brenet, *Op. cit.,* p. 199 seq., and his *Chansonettes Mesurées* (1586) (reed. by Expert).

[81] *Harmonie Universelle.* Paris, 1636, Livre VII des instrumens de percussion prop. xxxi.

& fulminante contre la Ligue, qui n'estoit rien moins en ce rencontre que l'arrest de sa mort, & sans doute prochaine, si Jacques Mauduit ne s'y fust recontré, qui leur fit entendre qu'il dechiffreroit cette musique & connoistroit dans peu d'heures s'il y avoit rien contre le service de la ville, & pour ce sujet il demanda le prisonnier pour y estre confronté, ce qu'on luy accorda sur sa preud'hommie, & à la faveur du capitaine son amy, avec quelques gardes, qui l'escorterent jusques au lieu de seureté, ou il termina certe affaire fort adroitement ».

It seems likely that he eventually took refuge in the protestant town of La Rochelle, for in a document of 1598 [82] he is mentioned as living there.

In 1594 he published at Paris his first collection of *musique mesurée* [83]. Sometime between this date and the publication of his *Dodecacorde* in 1598 he entered the service of Henri IV [84]. The latter work, of the same year as the Edict of Nantes, was intended by Le Jeune to be a musical contribution to the general reconciliation, to « donner aux françois de quoy unir les tons comme les pensées et les voix aussi bien que les coeurs » [85]. When Henri IV reorganised the royal music on a new basis he made a special position for Le Jeune. He appointed a « superintendant de la musique de la Chambre », Nicolas-Alexandre de Bonnières [86], and two composers, one for his chapel, Eustache du Caurroy, the other for his chamber, Claude Le Jeune. The king's singers had two Masters: Claude Balifre and Pierre Guédron [87], who, on Le Jeune's death, succeeded to his office [88]. But of all these it was Le Jeune who received the highest wages, 400 *écus,* for he had « un petit garçon » for his personal service. In other respects he seems to have occupied a privileged position: on the 20th of June 1600, a few weeks before his death, he was delegated by his colleagues to apply for those ecclesiastical benefices which had always been reserved for the king's musicians [89]. A month earlier he had entrusted Nico-

[82] Privilege granted by the States General of the Netherlands, in the *Dodecacorde* (reproduced in the Expert edition).

[83] Airs mis en musique A quatre & cinq parties. Par Cl. Le Jeune, Adrian le Roy et la Veufre R. Ballard, 1594. (Brussels, Bibl. Roy.: Sup., Contra. Tenor).

[84] In the title of the *Dodecacorde* Le Jeune is styled « Compositeur de la musique de la chambre du Roy », but not in that of the *Airs* of 1594.

[85] Dedication of the *Dodecacorde.*

[86] Arch. nat., KK 150, fol. 59; KK 151, fol. 45.

[87] Arch. nat., KK 151, fol. 45.

[88] Bibl. nat., Clairambault 1216, fol. 7.

[89] Appendix No. 4.

las Morel, *sous-maître* of the Chapel and composer, with taking all the necessary steps when it should be Le Jeune's turn to receive a benefice [90].

Le Jeune died later that year and was buried, on the 26th of September 1600, in the protestant cemetary of the Trinité [91].

*
**

When Le Jeune died only a small proportion of his music had been published. Besides the publications already mentioned, the Antwerp printer Phalèse had, between 1592 and 1597, included a few new works of his in various collections [92]. But the greater part appeared during the first decade of the 17th century, published by Pierre Ballard, and provided with dedications by Claude's sister, Cécile Le Jeune, or by his niece, Judith Mardo, when Cecile died in 1609 or 1610 [93]. This delay can be accounted for by the wars of religion and perhaps also by Le Jeune's choice of militantly protestant or seditious protectors. Even after the final triumph of Henri IV, it may have been difficult to publish at Paris; the output of the firm of Le Roy & Ballard during the last years of the century was remarkably small.

For at least four years before he died Le Jeune had been intending to publish considerable quantities both of his ordinary music and of his *musique mesurée*; in 1596 he had obtained a privilege for « plusieurs belles oeuvres en Musique, tant en rime Françoise, qu'en vers mesurez, lesquelles il desireroit faire imprimer » [94]. His sister and his niece carried out his wishes, and by 1612 « la derniere partie de ses oeuvres qui restoit à mettre en lumiere » [95], the *Second Livre des Meslanges,* had appeared. A list

[90] Appendix No. 3.

[91] *Bulletin de la Société de l'hist. du Protest. français,* 1863, p. 275.

[92] « Su su su che 'l giorno » and « Susanne un jour », arranged for lute in *Novum pratum musicum* of Adriensen, Antwerp. Phalèse & Bellere, 1592; 5 songs, of which two had already appeared, in *Rossignol musical,* Phalese, 1597; 4 madrigals in *Il vago alboreto di madrigali,* Phalèse, 1597.

[93] Dedication of Le Jeune's *Troisiesme Livre de Pseaumes.... a III. parties,* Pierre Ballard, 1610.

[94] Privilege of *Dodecacorde,* dated 8 Sept. 1596. Earlier still he had intended to publish the *Printemps* (v. supra p. 151).

[95] Dedication of *Second Livre des Meslanges,* 1612.

of these posthumous publications is imposing evidence of the popularity of his music [96]:

1601 Les CL Pseaumes de David mis en musique a quatre parties... (reed. 1608, 1613, 1615, 1617, 1618, 1627 etc.).
1602 Premier livre, contenant cinquante pseaumes de David mise en musique en trois parties... (reed. 1607).
1603 Le Printemps ...
1606 Pseaumes en vers mesurés ....
Octonaires de vanité et inconstance du monde ...
1607 Missa ad placitum ... cum quinque et sex vocibus ...
(reed. of Livre de Meslanges of 1585).
1608 Airs a III. IIII. V. et VI. parties ...
Second Livre des Airs ....
Second Livre contenant cinquante Pseaumes ... a III Parties...
Troisiesme Livre contenant cinquante Pseaumes (reed. 1610).
(reed. of Dodecacorde, also in 1618).
1612 Second Livre des Meslanges ... (reed. 1617).

This evidence for the vogue of Le Jeune's music in the early years of the 17th century is canfirmed by a story of D'Aubigné's [97]. In 1605 [98] Eustache du Caurroy, « Maitre de la Musique de la Chapelle du Roy », was directing a concert given in honour of D'Aubigné by « le sieur Pajot ». More than a hundred singers, chosen from the best executants in Paris, performed various works, and, when the audience were beginning to become slightly somnolent, regained their attention and enthusiasm by two psalms *en vers mesurés* set by Le Jeune [99]. Du Caurroy, who had previously disliked *vers mesurés,* was immediately converted and began to try his

[96] Henry Expert has reedited: *Le Printemps, Pseaumes en vers mesurés, Octonaires* and in part: *Dodecacorde, Meslanges* (1585).

[97] *Oeuvres,* ed. cit., I, 455; III, 271-274.

[98] D'Aubigné gives no date, but mentions that La Noue was there and had just returned from Holland (see E. & E. Haag, *La France Protestante,* VI, 302). The only other time that he was in the Netherlandes prior to the death of Du Caurroy (1608) was during his captivity in Ghent; but on his return in 1591 he rejoined Henri IV in Normandy immediately after burying his father in Paris (Haag, *op. cit.,* VI, 297). It is unlikely he would have gone to concerts on this occasion.

[99] The 3rd and 88th Psalms, Le Jeune, *Pseaumes en vers mesurez,* ed. Expert, II, 50, III, 15; the texts are by D'ubigné.

hand at setting them « toutefois sans effacer le premier » — a judgment that may be confirmed by looking at Du Caurroy's *Meslanges* (1610)[100], which contain 23 *chansons mesurées.*

Mersenne's remarks on Le Jeune's music are particularly interesting. He attributes his popularity to the variety and liveliness of rhythms and to his gift for melody[101]. In the *Harmonie Universelle* he tells this anecdote[102]:

« ... l'on tient que Claudin Le Jeune ayant monstré de ses pieces de musique à 5, 6, & 7 voix aux maistres de Flandre et d'Italie, qu'ils ne voulurent seulement pas les regarder, et qu'il n'eut point d'audience, qu'apres avoir composé à deux parties, ausquelles il reüssit si mal, qu'il avoua luy-mesme qu'il n'entendoit pas la vraye composition de la musique ».

A little later in the same work, when comparing him with Du Caurroy, he defends him against these severe « maistres de Flandre et d'Italie ».

« ... la bonté & l'excellence de la Musique ne consiste pas seulement aux accords bien couchez, comme ils sont dans la Musique du Caurroy, mais aussi dans la beauté & dans la diversité des mouvemens, qui sont cause que... Claudin Le Jeune est mieux receu de plusieurs que du Caurroy, & que lesdits Maistres trouvoient à redire aux Duos de Claudin, à raison qu'il ne scavoient pas que les mouvements qu'il leur donnoit, cachoient l'imperfection qu'il s'imaginoient y rencontrer; ou bien qu'ils ont estably des regles pour coucher les consonances dans les Duos, qui restreignent trop le Musicien, & qui luy ostent la liberté de faire plusieurs choses excellentes, laquelle ils reprenoient mal à propos en Claudin, dont le bon naturel surpassoit toute leur science »...[103].

To a modern ear two of the most striking features of Le jeune's music are the great rhythmic variety achieved within the very narrow limits imposed by *musique mesurée* and, in his ordinary music, the lucidity and vivacity of rhythm that is preserved even in the most complicated polyphonic passages. It is interesting to have Mersenne's testimony that these

[100] Reed. in part only by Expert.

[101] « Le Jeune... a particulierement réussi à donner de beaux chants à la lettre dont il s'est servy, & a usé de quantité de mouvemens, qui rendent sa Musique gaye, c'est pourquoy elle est en grand usage dans les Concerts ordinaires de Violes & de voix ». Des Instrumens (Mersenne, *Harmonie Universelle,* VII, xxxi).

[102] *Harm. Univ.* VI, De la Composition, ii, p. 202.

[103] *Idem,* IV, De la Composition, ii, p. 205.

qualities were equally striking to early 17th century listeners. Although Le Jeune was considerably older than Du Caurroy [104], Mersenne gives the latter as a model for counterpoint and harmony, and the former as a model for « la composition des airs », together with purely monodic composers of a later generation: Guédron, Boësset and Moulinié [105]. The great rhythmic clarity of Le Jeune's work may have some connection with the fact that, according to Mersenne [106], he used an instrument when composing.

*
**

The work presented in the Publications of the American Institute of Musicology, Le Jeune's *Airs* of 1608, consists entirely of *chansons mesurées à l'antique,* that is to say, settings of French verse written in classical metres. The metre of these poems was meant to be quantitative, but the rhythmical structure of the French language made this aim in fact unattainable [107]. Nearly all the settings, however, reproduced exactly the quantitative metrical scheme intended by the poet; a supposed long syllable being set with a minim (or its equivalent in notes of smaller value) and a short with a crotchet [108]. All voices sang the same syllable at the same time, so that with very few exceptions, this music was strictly homophonic.

The origin of this kind of song was in the Academy of Baïf and Courville, with which, as we have seen, Le Jeune was closely associated [109]. The humanistic theories on which this academy and the principles of *musique mesurée* were based [110] can be said to rest on two main assumptions: first, that music and poetry must be closely united, as in antiquity; secondly, that this union, if properly carried out, would result in a revival of the ethical effects of ancient music. Since the precise nature of the latter was

[104] Du Caurroy was born in 1549.

[105] Mersenne, *Op. cit.,* VI, Embellissement des Chants, viii.

[106] *Ibid.* Mersenne does not specify what instrument.

[107] They came near to achieving an accentual (stress) version of the metrical patterns of Greek and Latin verse (see Augé--Chiquet, *Op. cit.,* Ch. VIII).

[108] The principle remains of course the same if semibreves and minims, or crotchets and quavers are used.

[109] Cf. supra pp. 149-152.

[110] For a fuller exposition of these theories see F. A. Yates, *Op. cit.,* Ch. III, and D. P. Walker, « Musical Humanism in the 16th and early 17th-centuries », in *Music Review,* 1941-42.

unknowable, the means of attaining these ends were necessarily conjectural. Most musical humanists arrived, however, at much the same ideal of music, founded to varying degrees on their picture of Greek music: a setting entirely subjected to its text, highly expressive of it, and free from any textural complications that might obscure its metre or intelligibility (i. e. not fugal, but not necessarily monodic). On points of detail they differed widely: the use of the modes and *genera,* the importance of the various systems of intonation, the musical imitation of particular words of the text, etc...

Le Jeune's opinions were not those of an extreme humanist. From the dedication of the *Dodecacorde* it appears that he believed that the music of a nation was not a cause, but only a symptom, of that nation's manners and customs. He does emphatically assert the existence of a relation between music and *ethea,* but, unlike thorough-going musical humanists, is not willing also to assert that the latter are « effects » of the former [111]. He seems, however, to have believed that immediate specific emotional effects on the listener could be achieved, witness his own story of the gentleman at the Duc de Joyeuse's wedding [112]. Moreover his reputation was founded in some measure on his success in producing the *effetti*; Odet de la Noue, in his *Ode sur la musique mesurée de Claudin Le Jeune* [113], writes:

Maints Muziciens de ce temps ci par les acors grave-dous,
Et le beau chant harmonieus ravissoyent l'ame de tous.
Qui venoit ouyr telle chanson
Il demeuroit tout en extaze à ce dous son.

. . . . . .

Mais aussitost que ce CLAUDIN par mouvemens mesurés
De ce beau chant harmonieus les acors eut honorés,
Ce qui ravissoit coeur & espris,
Pres de cela soudain on vid comme sans pris.
Par les éfors de sa chanson l'ame il élance ou i' veut:
Ores en deuil morte i' l'abat, à la joye or' il l'émeut.
I' va ranimant le plu' bas cueur,
Au furieus i' va rendant toute douceur.

[111] « ... pour l'advenir, je ne voudroy' pas tant de force à la Musique, comme luy en ont attribué les Anciens: Mesmement je n'oseray' dire d'elle, ce qu'on dit des Astres, ascavoir que si elle ne violente, pour le moins elle incline ». (Dod., *Dodecacorde*).

[112] v. supra p. 156.

[113] In front of Le Jeune's *Printemps* (1603) (reed. Expert). Cf. *ibid.,* an anonymous *Ode sur la Musique du defunct Sieur Claudin Le Jeune.*

The *Preface sur la musique mesurée* of the *Printemps*[114] develops the same theme: that Le Jeune combines the harmonic beauties of modern music with the powerfully affective rhythmic art of the ancients. For he has made his music:

« non seulement egale à celle des antiens, mais beaucoup plus excellente & plus capable de beaux effects, en tant qu'il fait ouyr le corps marié avec son ame, qui jusques ores en avoit esté separée. Car l'Harmonique seulle avec ses agreables consonances peut bien arrester en admiration vraye les esprits plus subtils: mais la Rythmique venant à les animer, peut animer aussi, mouvoir, mener ou il luy plait par la douce violence de ses mouvemens reglés, toute ame pour rude et grossiere qu'elle soit ».

As for the Modes, Le Jeune is sceptical about the possibility of discovering which Greek mode corresponds to which species of the octave[115]. In practice, however, he followed Zarlino's system[116], and took the trouble to compose and arrange two of his major works, of which the *Airs* of 1608 are one[117], according to the twelve modes of this system.

In general it may be supposed that Le Jeune accepted the main tenets of the Academy, since he wrote a great quantity of *musique mesu-*

[114] 1603, posthumous.

[115] Dedication of the *Dodecacorde*.

[116] See Table of Modes in ed. There are other reasons for supposing that Le Jeune followed closely Zarlino's conception of ancient music (see Walker, « Musical Le Jeune followed closely Zarlnio's conception of ancient music (see Walker, *Musical* Humanism etc. », *Music Review*, I, 308, II, 28). It is also interesting to note that in the library at Paris of the *Frères Minimes* (Mersenne's order) there is a copy of a treatise, based on Zarlino, entitled: « Reigle des douze modes approuvez des meilleurs autheurs anciens et modernes, et mis en pratique par Claude Le Jeune, compositeur de la musique de la Chambre du roy, en ses Pseaumes de David, l'an 1598 » (Bibl. nat., nouv. acq. fr. 4679, fol. 5v.), together with numerous extracts from Zarlino. Also significant perhaps is the following extract from the inventary of Du Caurroy's library made after his death in August 1609: « Musica Zarlinii en deux volumes; Institutioni harmonicae Zarlino, italien, en 2 vol.; Institutioni harmonicae et supplymenty musicale (sic) en 2 vol.; Musique de Claudin le Jeune en 7 parties in 4.o; Musique de Dodecacorde de Claudin le Jeune, en 7 parties.... » (Arch. nat. Minutier central XLI, 126). Cf. Mersenne, *Harm. Univ.*, VI, De la Comp., p. 283, « Ce n'est pas mon dessein de copier Zarlin, duquel du Caurroy et tous autres, médiatement ou immédiatement, ont puisé tous ce qu'ils scavent de platique ».

[117] The other is the *Dodecacorde*. For the *Airs* of 1608 see the *Au Lecteur* of *Livre II*, and the Table of Modes Ed. of *Airs*.

rée and in it conformed, with very few exceptions [118], to the principles of syllabic homophony and the ⏑ = 𝅗𝅥, ∪ = ♩ rule. Unlike Mauduit, he not infrequently underlines musically particular words of his text [119], a practice of which the more extreme musical humanists strongly disapproved He also evidently has the intention of expressing musically the general mood of the text, an aim which as can be seen from these *Airs* he often achieves. An interest in the revival of the ancient *genera* is perhaps indicated by the chromatic song « Qu'est devenu ce bel oeil » [120].

*
**

As we have seen, the greater part of Le Jeune's music, and nearly all his *musique mesurée,* was published posthumously. It seems likely that the eventual publication of the latter was largely owing to a group of *politiques* or protestant poets, of whom the chief were Nicolas Rapin, Raoul Cailler, Odet de la Noue and Agrippa d'Aubigné. These at the turn of the century were writing *vers mesurés,* which, unlike Baif's, were rhymed [121]. Rapin, la Noue and d'Aubigné all wrote eulogistic verses which appear in front of Le Jeune's music [122]. Le Jeune's sister, Cécile, dedicated two of his collections of *musique mesurée,* the *Pseaumes en vers mesurez* and the *Airs* of 1608 to La Noue and d'Aubigné respectively, and implied in her dedications that their good offices had made the publication possible [124].

It is also probable that it was one, or both, of these two who added

[118] E. g. Nos, 41, 20. Except for Mauduit, the other composers of *musique mesurée* were very much less strict, e. g. Courville and Fabrice Marin Caietain or Du Caurroy.

[119] E. g. Nos. 48, 55, 66.

[120] No. 127. It is possible that Baïf's Academy attempted to revive the *genera* cf. Walker, « The Aims of Baïf's Academy, *Mus. Disciplina* I.

[121] See d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres,* ed. cit., I, 453-6, III, 271-96; Rapin, *Les Vers Mesurez,* 1610 (part of *Les Oeuvres Latines et Françoises...* 1610).

[122] E. g. *Le Printemps* (Rapin and La Noue); *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez* (La Noue and D'Aubigné — latter unsigned, but cf. d'Aubigné, *Oeuvres,* ed. cit., I, 455). Le Jeune d'Aubigné's *psaumes mesurés (Ps. en vers mes.,* ed. Expert, II, 24, 26, 59; set four of III, 15).

[123] Paris, Pierre Ballard, 1606, (reed. Expert).

[124] « Vous avez mesmes ressuscité ce qui fust peru de ses oeuvres, si par bon heur ne les eussiez honorez de vostre tutelle ». Ded. to La Noue of *Pseaumes en Vers Mesurez*).

rhymes to the originally unrhymed texts[125] of these two works, since they were both themselves writers of rhymed *vers mesurés*. In the case of the *Pseumes en vers mesurez* a remark of Mersenne[126] indicates that it was La Noue who did so.

Paris, June 1949.

APPENDIX

1) Archives nationales, Minutier central, XVII, 83.

1582, 25 january. — « Noble homme Claude le Jeune, maistre des enfans de musicque de Monseigneur, frere du roy, suivant la Cour dudit seigneur et a présent estant en ceste ville de Paris, consent, permect et acorde a noble homme Nicolas de la Grotte, organistre et vallet de chambre ordinaire du roy, a ce présent stippulant et acceptant que pour recevoir le don de six cens escuz d'or soleil qu'ilz dient leur avoir esté faict ensemblement par la Majesté du roy, pour quoy faire il luy a cejourd'huy et pardevant les notaires soubsignez passé procuration il puisse remectre et quicter pour la moictié dudit le Jeune a ceulx qui feront le payement dudit don, tel présent honneste que ledit de la Grotte verra, trouvera bon estre et que bon luy semblera, et ce qui en sera par ledit de la Grotte remis et quicté pour la moictié dudit le Jeune, icelluy le Jeune le promect desduire et rabatre audit de la Grotte sur ledit don dont ledit de la Grotte sera creu a sa simple parolle, sans qu'il soit tenu en faire ny prester aultre serment. Car ainsi a esté accordé entre eulx et aultrement et sans la présente promesse ledit de la Grotte ne se fust chargé de ladite procuration.... Faict et passé avant midi es estudes des notaires soubzsignez, l'an mil cinq cens quatre vingtz et deux, le jeudi vingt cinquiesme jour de janvier. Et ont lesdits le Jeune et de la Grotte signé la minutte avec lesdits notaires.

Claude le Jeune — la Grotte
Robert — De la Fons ».

2) Arch. nat., Minutier central, XVII, 83.

1582, 25 January — « ... Fut présent et comparut personnellement noble homme Claude le Jeune, maitre des enfans de musicque de Monseigneur, frere du roy, suivant ordinairement la Cour dudit seigneur et a présent estant en ceste ville de Paris, lequel.... a faict nommé... et estably son procureur général et spécial noble homme Nicolas de la Grotte, organiste et vallet de chambre ordinaire du roy, demeurant a Paris, ... auquel ledict constituant a donné et donne plain pouvoir, puissance, auctorité et mandement expres de pour et en son nom poursuir partout et ainsi qu'il appartiendra la somme de six cens escuz d'or soleil du don qu'il a pleu a la Majesté du roy faire ausdicts le Jeune

[125] Not all the original texts of the *Airs* of 1608 have survived; but all those that have are unrhymed.

[126] « Alios versus Gallicos & Latinos musice redditos vide apud Claudium Iunium, qui quidem sunt a Baifio composti, sed ab haeretico de la Noue partim immutati, quapropter cave » (Mersenne, *Quaestiones Cel. in Gen.*, Qu. 57, viii).

et de la Grotte ainsi que lesdicts le Jeune et de la Grotte dient apparoir par ung aquit patant qu'ilz dient leur avoir esté expédié par Monsieur Pynart, requérir et supplier la Majesté dudict seigneur lettres plus amples si besoing est, en estre faictes et expédiées au nom desdicts le Jeune et de la Grotte et icelles lettres en telle forme et maniere qu'elles pourront estre faictes retirées et prendre par dedict de la Grotte en ses mains et de recepvoir de toutes personnes qu'il appartiendra les deniers qui prouviendront dudict don.. Faict et passé es estudes desdicts notaires avant midi, l'an mil cinq cens quatre vingtz et deux, le jeudi vingt cinquiesme jour de janvier. Et ont lesdicts le Jeune et la Grotte signé la mynutte.

la Grotte — Claude le Jeune
Robert — De la Fons. »

3) Arch. nat., Minutier central, XXIV, 203.

1600, 27 May. — « Fut présent en sa persone Claude Lejeune, compositeur de la musicque de la Chambre du roy, suivant ordinairement la Court, lequel a fet et constitué son procureur général et spécial, noble homme maitre Nicolas Moret, soubzmaistre de la Chappelle de musicque du roy, auquel il a donné et donne pouvoir et puissance d'accepter le bénéfice qui viendra a vacquer a son tour de roole, suivant l'ordonnance du roy fete a Monseigneur le grand aulmonier, pour servir et requérir les lettres de provision dudict bénéfice au nom et au proffict dudict constituant, icelle faire expédier, signer et sceller et faire toutes poursuittes et dilligence au cas requises et nécessaires... Fet et passé es estudes des notaires soubsignez, l'an mil six cens, le samedi apres midy vingtseptiesme jour de may et a signé

C. Lejeune ».

4) Arch. nat., Minutier central, XXIV, 203.

1600, 20 June. « Aujourd'huy est comparu pardevant les notaires du roy nostre sire en son Chastellet de Paris soubsignez maistre Claude le Jeune, compositeur ordinaire de musicque de la Chambre du roy, disant qu'il auroit pleu au roy accorder aux soubzmaistres, chantres, chappellains et aultres de sa Chappelle de musicque de sa Chambre, chappellains et clerz de son oratoire tous et chacuns les prébendes et aultres bénéfices qui sont en sa provision, ainsy qu'il comporte et contient es letres patentes sur ce obtenues de sadicte Majesté, du nombre desquelz et au roole qu'elle a commandé, contrefaict par Monseigneur de Bourges, son grand aulmosnyer, pour y mainlevée l'ordre nécessaire, ledit Lejeune est comparu a ceste cause; ledit le Jeune a supplié tres humblement Sa Majesté voulloit en sa faveur pourvoir maistre [....] du bénéfice qui viendra a vaquer advenant a son tour dudit roole de Monseigneur ....

C. Lejeune ».

ELIZABETHAN MUSIC PRINTS IN AN EAST-PRUSSIAN CASTLE.

OTTO HEINRICH MIES

Music books of the Elizabethan age are very rare. Of Dowland's or Morley's Books of Songs there exist only a few copies, and these are scattered all over Europe; some of them have even reached the libraries of America. The existence of a heretofore unnoticed volume containing eight Elizabethan music books will be of interest.

This collection used to be in the library of the East-Prussian Castle of Schlobitten. The writer had a chance to see it before the war while preparing a book on John Dowland. Fortunately the collection has survived the ravages of war and is in the possession of its former owner who now lives in the British Zone of Germany.

The following is the list of the contents given in the order as found in the collection:

1. John Dowland, *First Booke of songes,* London 1606.
2. John Dowland, *Second Booke of Songes,* London 1600.
3. John Dowland, *Third Booke of Songes,* London 1603.
4. John Dowland, *Lachrimae or seaven teares,* London 1604.
5. Robert Dowland, *Varietie of Lute-Lessons,* London 1610.
6. Robert Dowland, *A Musical Banquet,* London 1610.
7. Robert Jones, *Ultimum Vale,* London 1605.
8. John Dowland, *Lachrimae* (as No. 4).

On the title page of No. 1 (Dowland's *First Booke of Songes*) we find, in an old handwriting, the words: « Abrahams B. zu Dhona 1630 ». Abraham, Burggraf zu Dohna (in Saxony) was the collector of these and about sixty other music books of the time, all constituting a part of the above-mentioned music library. Abraham was born in 1579 and studied after 1589 at the University of Heidelberg. Maybe he became acquainted with Dowland's music at the court of the landgrave of Hessia in Kassel, or at that of the Duke of Brunswick in Wolfenbüttel where the English lutenist had spent some time during his stay in Germany. Amongst

these prints the *Ultimum Vale* of Robert Jones is of particular interest. Only one copy of this book has till now been known — that of the British Museum, London, and of which the title leaf is missing. In the copy of Schlobitten the title is preserved. This title-page contains prescriptions for the performance, which are of some interest. The text of the title page runs as follows:

ULTIMUM VALE,
with a triplicity of Musicke,
WHEREOF

The first part is for the Lute, the
Voyce, and the Viole Degambo, The
2. part is for the Lute, the Viole, and foure
partes to sing, The third part is for
two Trebles, to sing either to
the Lute, or the Viole or to
both, if any please.

Composed by ROBERT IONES.

Quae prosunt singula, multa inuant.
Printed at London by Iohn Windet, and
are to be sold by Simon Waterson, in
Powles Churchyeard, at the Signe
of the Crown 1605.

In his book on John Dowland the writer has tried to deduce some facts from these prescriptions which may be of consequence for insight into the musical practice of the time.

Husum, Germany

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1949-1950

This list comprises publications of more or less scientific nature — books, articles, editions of music — related to the period dealt with by the present periodical. It covers the year 1948-1949, but in some instances includes works published earlier. The list appears once a year, in the last issue of *Musica Disciplina.*

The Bibliography is prepared by the collaboration of Albert van der Linden, Brussels; Leonard Ellinwood, Washington, D. C.; François Lesure, Paris; Bruno Stäblein, Regensburg; D. P. Walker, London.

The articles of *Musica Disciplina* are not included in this bibliography.

BELGIUM - HOLLAND

Abbreviations:

RBM = Revue belge de Musicologie. Bruxelles.
Sch = De Schalmei, Gand.
TVM = Tijdschrift voor Muzickwetenschap, Amsterdam.

ARTICLES

Bol, J. H. D.: « Sweelinckiana » *(TVM,* XVII, p. 2-17).

Corbet, August: « Muziektermen in onze middeleeuwse letteren », *Nieuw Vlaams Tijdschrift,* Anvers, juillet 1949, p. 63-88.

Daniskas, John: « Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis der parodie-techniek », *TVM,* XVII, p. 21-43.

de Bruyn, P. J.: « Ghiselinus Danckerts, zanger van de pauselijke Cappella van 1538 tot 1565 », II, *TVM,* XVII, p. 128-157.

De Keyzer, Berten: « Figuren uit Vlaanderens orgelhistorie (H. Sagtmoortele, C. Blancqaert, C. Carlier, M. Langhedul » etc.), *Sch,* IV, p. 25-28.

De Keyzer, Berten: *Id.* « W. de Vaelbeke, J. de Bus, C. Waghers, Langhedul. Adaems van Elen » etc., *Sch,* IV, p. 49-50.

De Keyzer, Berten: *Id.* « L. Cornelis, H. Vanden Eechoute, J. van Lier, Th. Righerman » etc., *Sch,* IV, p. 97-100.

De Keyzer, Berten: « Nog het geslacht Langhedul, Mattheus Langhedul te Parijs », *Sch,* IV, p. 130-131.

Deschrevel, A.: « Nieuwpoort, Het orgel in de O. L. Vrouwkerk », *Sch,* p. 108-110.

Federhofer, Hellmut: « Lambert de Sayve an der Grazer Hofkapelle », *RBM,* III, 4. p. 213-218.

Hooreman, Paul: « Saint-Martial de Limoges au temps de l'abbé Odolric (1025-1040). Essai sur une pièce oubliée du répertoire limousin », *RBM,* III, 1. p. 5-36.

Kreps, Dom Joseph: « Aribon de Liège, une légende », RBM, II, 3-4, p. 138-143.

Lenaerts, R. B.: « Nederlandse polyphonische liederen in de Bibliotheek van El Escorial », *RBM,* III, 3, p. 134-139.

Linderburg, C. W. H.: « Notatieproblemen van het Gruythuyzerhandschrift », *TVM,* XVII, p. 44-86.

Pirrotta, Nino: « " Dulcedo „ e " subtilitas „ nella pratica polifonica franco-italiana al principio del '400 », *RBM,* II 3-4, p. 125-132

Sicking, Jan: « Enige data betreffende het leven en de Werken van Ludwig Senfl », TVM, XVII, p. 2-17.

MUSIC

Staquet, P.: « Les analyses grégoriennes », *Musica Sacra,* Bruges, mars 1949, n. 1. p. 23-26.

Van den Borren, Charles: « Les " Opera omnia „ de Dufay », *RBM,* II, 3-4, p. 133-138.

Van den Borren, Charles: « Over Guillelmus Blootacker, organist aan de St. Donatiuskerk te Brugge in de XVI^e^ eeuw », *Sch,* IV, p. 76-77.

Van der Linden, Albert: « A propos de Guillaume Dufay », *RBM,* III, 1, p. 44-46.

Van der Linden, Albert: « Les comptes de la ville d'Ypres de 1267 à 1329 », *RBM,* II. 3-4, p. 150-156.

Van der Linden, Albert: « Les " Minervalia „ de Jean Guyot », *RBM,* III, 2, p. 105-109.

Van der Linden, Albert: « Travaux d'approche pour un glossaire musicologique », *RBM,* III, 1, p. 49-50.

Vente, M. A.: « Aanvullingen betreffende de Figuren uit Vlaanderens Orgelhistorie », *Sch,* IV, p. 6-7.

Vente, M. A.: « Figuren uit Vlaanderens Orgelhistorie, De geslachten Buus en Van der Keere », *Sch,* IV, p. 2-5.

Vente, M. A.: *Id.,* « Het geslacht Waghers », Sch, IV, p. 73-75 et 88.

Vente, M. A.: *Id.,* « Ysbrant Claesz uit Breda », *Sch,* IV, p. 122-124.

Smijers, A.: *Van Ockeghem tot Sweelinck, Nederlandse muziekgeschiedenis in voorbeelden, uitgegeven door...,* 5de aflevering (pp. 129-160), Amsterdam, G. Alsbach, 1949 (Vereniging voor Nederlandse Muziekgeschiedenis).

FRANCE

BOOKS

Loubet de Sceaury, Paul, *Musiciens et facteurs d'instruments de musique sous l'ancien régime. Statuts corporatifs,* Paris: Pedone, 1949, 253 p.

Raugel, Félix, *Les orgues et les organistes de la cathédrale de Strasbourg,* Colmar: Alsatia, 1948, 32 p.

Trillat, Ennemond, *Claude Goudimel, le Psautier huguenot et la Saint-Barthélemy lyonnaise,* [Lyon: éd. de la Guillotière, 1949], 20 p.

ARTICLES

Bonnet, R. P. « Essai d'un répertoire liturgique de la musique d'orgue de 1500 à 1750 », in *L'orgue,* No 50, Paris, janvier-mars 1949.

Chailley Jacques, « Etudes musicales sur la chanson de geste et ses origines » in *Revue de musicologie,* Nos 85-88, Paris, 1948, issued in 1949, p. 1-27.

Clercx, Suzanne, « Le retour à l'antique et le Baroque musical » in *Poly-*

phonie, 3é cahier *(Présence de la musique ancienne),* Paris, 1949, p. 45-55.

Fedorov, Vladimir, « Notes sur la musicologie médiévale. Son objet de demain » in *Polyphonie,* 3è cahier, 1949 p. 30-37.

Fedorov, Vladimir, « Peut-on parler d'une école bourgignonne de musique au XVè siècle? » in *Les Cahiers techniques de l'art,* Strasbourg, 1949, fasc. 1 et 2, p. 29-36 [About Jeanne Marix's, *Histoire de la musique et des musiquens de la Cour de Bourgogne suos le règne de Philippe le Bon,* Strasbourg, Heitz 1939, issued in 1946].

Françon, Marcel: Review of G. Thibault et L. Perceau *(Bibliographie des poésies de P. de Ronsard mises en musique au XVIè siècle,* 1941), in *Bibliothèque d'humanisme et Renaissance,* t. XI, Lausanne: Droz, 1949, p. 290-295.

Frissard, Cl., « A propos d'un recueil de « Chansons » de Jehan Chardavoine » in *Revue de musicologie,* Nos 85-88, 1948, issued in 1949, p. 58-75.

Huillet d'Istria, Madeleine, « A la recherche de l'oeuvre de Jean Perréal » in *Arts,* 3 sept. 1948, p. 8 [On a new presumed portrait of Josquin des Prés at Le Puy's cathedral].

Leibowitz, René, « La musicologie est-elle possible? » in *Critique,* No 33, Paris, fabr. 1949, p. 124-138 [On the *Hamline Studies in musicology,* ed. by. E. Krenck, 2 vol., St-Paul, 1945-1947].

Lesure, François, « Bibliographie de l'oeuvre musicologique d'Yvonne Rokseth » in *Revue de musicologie,* Nos 85-88, 1948, issued in 1949, p. 85-90.

Lesure, François, « Réflexions sur les origines du concert parisien » in *Polyphonie,* No 5, Paris, 1949, p. 47-51.

Levron, Jacques, « Une association de musiciens au XVI[e] siècle » [at Angers in 1557], in *Euterpe,* No 7 devoted to Lully, july 1949, p. 123-128.

Longnon, J., « Les troubadours à la Cour de Boniface de Montferrat en Italie et en Orient » in *Revue de synthèse,* t. LXIV, Paris, july-dec. 1948, p. 45-59.

Machabey, A., « Quelques remarques sur la polyphonie vocale du XIV[e] siècle » in *Polyphonie,* No 3, 1949, p. 38-44.

Rokseth, Yv., « Aimer la musique ancienne » in *Polyphonie,* No 3, 1949, p. 5-11.

Thibault, G., « Yvonne Rokseth » in *Revue de musicologie,* Nos 85-88, 1948, issued in 1949, p. 76-85.

Zwick, G., « Deux motets inédits de Philippe de Vitry et de Guillaume de Machaut » in *Revue de musicologie,* Nos 85-88, 1948, issued in 1949, p. 28-57 [With facsimile and musical transcriptions.]

DISSERTATION

Bicksel, *La valeur du « tactus » et l'art de diriger du XIII^e^ au XVI^e^ siècle* [Thèse complémentaire de l'Université de Strasbourg, 1948].

MUSIC

Deux chansons à danser du XIII^e^ siècle à 3 voix (I. Ballette de la reine d'Avril. - II. La ronde du jaloux), modern transcription by J. Chailley, Paris: Rouart, mars 1949, 4 p.

Janequin, Clément, *Congregati sunt,* motet à quatre voix, [transcription with facsimiles and an introduction by François Lesure], Monaco: éd. de l'Oiseau-Lyre, 1949.

Collection d'oeuvres françaises du temps de Richelieu: No 2, *Regina coeli,* motet à 5 voix. No 3, *Jubilate Deo,* choeur à 5 voix (ms. 168 de la Bibliothèque municipale de Tours attribué à G. Bouzignac), restitutions B. Loth, Paris-Toulouse: éd. de la « Musique sacrée ». No 4, *Quel espoir de guarir,* choeur à 4 voix (idem, restitution B. Loth), Paris, 1948, Durand. No 5, *Stella refulget,* « scène sacrée » sur l'Epiphanie à 5 voix (*idem,* restitution B. Loth), Paris, ed. de la Schola cantorum, 1948. No 6, Antoine Boesset, *Ballet de Monsieur. Récit pour les Dandins* (5^e^ livre d'*Airs de Cour à 4 et 5 parties,* 1626), Paris, 1949, restitution Denise Launay. No 7, A. Boesset, *Heureux séjour de Parthénisse* (4^e^ livre d'*Airs de Cour à 4 et 5 parties,* 1624), restitution Denise Launay, Paris, 1949.

Cent versets de Magnificat pour orgue des XVI^e^, XVII^e^, et XVIII^e^ siècles, présentés, annotés et registrés par Noëlie Pierront et Norbert Dufourcq, Paris, 1948.

GERMANY

BOOKS

Fellerer, Karl Gustav, *Geschichte der katholischen Kirchenmusik,* Düsseldorf: Musikverlag Schwann, 2-1949, 199 p.

Georgiades, Thrasybulos, *Der griechische Rhythmus, Musik, Reigen, Vers und Sprache,* Hamburg: von Schröder 1949, 163 p.

Kriessmann, Alfons, *Kleine Kirchenmusikgeschichte für Studierende, Kirchenmusiker und Geistliche,* Tübingen: Schultheiss-Verlag, 3-1948, 151 p. (3. verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage mit vielen Bildern und Notenbeispielen).

Kunz, P. Dr. Lucas, *Aus der Formenwelt des gregorianischen Chorals.* 3. Metrische Gestaltung, Textformen, Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1949, 54 p.

Schlisske, Otto, *Handbuch der Lutherlieder,* Göttingen: Vandenhoek und Ruprecht, 1948, 364 p.

Trautmann, R., *Altrussische Helden- und Spielmannslieder,* Leipzig, 1948.

ARTICLES

Abert, Anna Amalie, « Das Nachleben des Minnesangs im liturgischen Spiel » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 95-105, Kassel und Basel: a Bärenreiter Verlag.

Albrecht, Hans, « Zwei Quellen zur deutschen Musikgeschichte der Reformationszeit. Die Handschriften Bártfa 22 und 23 des Ungarischen Nationalmuseums zu Budapest » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 242-285.

Besseler, Heinrich, « Der Ursprung des Fauxbourdons » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 106-112.

Besseler, Heinrich, « Das Lochamer Liederbuch aus Nürnberg » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 220-225.

Blankenburg, Walter, « Der Ursprung von Nikolaus Hermans Weise 'Lobt Gott, ihr Christen alle gleich' » in *Musik und Kirche* XVIII (1948) 139-141.

Blankenburg, Walter, « Wertmassstäbe für Choralweisen. Zur Frage des

Wort-Ton-Verhältnisses im evangelischen Kirchenlied » in *Musik und Kirche* XVIII (1948) 76-85.

Dreimüller, Karl, « Die Alsfelder Marienklage » in *Cäcilien Vereins Organ* 69 (1949) 35-38, Köln: Verlag J. P. Bachem.

Gennrich, Friedrich, « Perotins Beata Viscera Mariae Virginis und die ' Modaltheorie ' » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 225-241.

Gudewill, Kurt, « Zur Frage der Formstrukturen deutscher Liedtenores » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 112-121.

Klotz, Hans, « Niederländische Orgelbaumeister am Trierer Dom » in *Die Musikforschung* II (1949) 36-53.

Lipphardt, Walther, « Neue Wege zur Erforschung der linienlosen Neumen » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 121-139.

Mahrenholz Christhard, « Die Notierung der Kirchenlied- Melodien » in *Musik und Kirche* XVIII (1948) 66-76.

Quoika, Rudolf, « Deutsche Orgelbaukunst der Spätgotik in Böhmen » in *Die Musikforschung* I (1948) 139-146.

Sievers, Heinrich, Der gregorianische Choral in der Kompositionstechnik des späten Mittelalters » in *Musik und Kirche* XIX (1939) 50-51.

Sievers, Heinrich, « Mittelalterliche Instrumente in geistlichen Spielen » in *Das Musikleben* I (1948) 254-257, (Mainz, Weihergarten 7).

Vetter, Walther, « Ost und West in der Musikgeschichte » in *Die Musik forschung* I (1948) 152-157.

Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart. Allgemeine Enzyklopädie der Musik. Unter Mitarbeit zahlreicher Musikforscher des In-und Auslandes herausgegeben von Friedrich Blume, Kassel und Basel: Bärenreiter-Verlag 1949 ss.

First fasc. (1949):

Aachen (Theodor Bernhard Rehmann)	col.	1 - 10
Abaelardus (Friedrich Gennrich)	col.	14 - 15
Abbreviaturen (Heinrich Husmann)	col	16 - 20
Abendland (Jacques Handschin)	col.	25 - 32
Aberdeen (Henry George Farmer)	col.	36 - 38
A cappella (Hermann Zenck)	col.	69 - 75
Adam de la Halle (Friedrich Gennarich)	col.	77 - 79

Adam vol Fulda (Wilhelm Ehmann) col. 79 - 81
Adam von St. Viktor (Ewald Jammers) col. 81 - 82
Affektenlehre (Walter Serauky) col. 113 - 121
Agende (Christhard Mahrenholz) col. 137 - 148
Agnus dei (Bruno Stäblein) col 148 - 156
Agricola Alexander (Paul Müller) col. 158 - 160
Agricola Martinus (Bernard Engelke) col. 163 - 166
Aich (Kurt Gudewill) col. 175 - 177
Aichinger (Ernst Fritz Schmid) col. 177 - 183
Aimeric de Péguilhan (Friedrich Gennrich) col. 183 - 185
Akademie (Ezerhard Preussner) col. 188 - 199

MUSIC

Chorbuch alter Meister, herausgeg. von Fritz Jöde, mit Nachw. Teil 1, Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1949; für 3 - 4 gleiche Stimmen, 128 p.

Chorbuch alter Meister, herausgeg. von Fritz Jöde, mit Nachw. Teil 2, Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1948; für 3 - 8 gem. Stimmen, 128 p.

Dank sagen wir alle, Weihnachtssequenz (Kirchengesenge Deudtsch Johann Spangenberg 1545 nach der Sequenz Grates nunc omnes) Kleine Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 175, (Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag).

Glarean, Dodekachordon (1547), *Meisterkanons zu 2 Stimmen im Einklang oder in der Oktave,* vornehmlich für Blokflöten, Gamben und Violen. Mit Nachw. von Fritz Jöde, Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1948, 11 p.

Heiliger Geist Herre Gott (Böhmische Brüder 1544 nach der alten Sequenz Veni sancte spiritus) Kleine Bärenreiter-Ausgabe Nr. 171, Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag.

Lechner, Leonhard, *Das Leiden unser Herren Jesu Christi aus dem Evangelisten Johannes.* Anno 1594. Passionshistorie. Mit Vorw. herausg. von Konrad Ameln, Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 70, Kassel: Bärenreiter-Ausgabe 70, Kassel: Bärenreiter-Verlag 4-1949.

Alte Madrigale und andere A-cappella-Gesänge für gemischten Chor aus dem 16. und dem Anfange des 17. Jahrhunderts. Mit Vorw. und Nachw. herausg. von Fritz Jöde, Wolfenbüttel: Möseler 1948, 95 p.

DISSERTATIONS

Oster, Otto, *Ein Mainzer Hymnar mit usualen Neumen aus dem XII. Jahrhundert,* Bonn 1946.

Paul, Erhart, *Das Nürnberger Motettenbuch Orlando di Lassos vom Jahre 1562,* Berlin 1948, 78 - 8 p.

Pfaff, Heinrich, *Die Tropen und Sequenzen der Handschrift Rom, Bibl. Naz. Vitt. Em.* 1343 (Sessor. 62) aus Nonantola, München 1948, VIII + 232 + 1 + 4 p.

GREAT BRITAIN

BOOKS

Bedbrook, G. S., *Keyboard Music from the Middle Ages to the Beginning of the Baroque,* London, Macmillan, 1949, 170 p.

Demuth, N., *An Anthology of Musical Criticism from the 15th to the 20th century,* London, Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1947, 432 p.

Fellowes, E. H., *The English Madrigal Composers,* 2nd edition (revised), Oxford University Press, 1948 364 p.

Jackson Knight, W. F., *St. Augustine's De Musica,* Cambridge, Orthological Institute, 1948.

U. S. OF AMERICA

BOOKS

Backus, Edythe N., *Catalog of Music in the Huntington Library Printed before 1801.* (Huntington Library Lists, Number 6) San Marino, California, Huntington Library, 1949. ix, 773 p. $ 12.50.

Einstein, Alfred, *The Italian Madrigal.* Princeton, N. J., Princeton University Press, 1949. 3 vols.

Messenger, Ruth Elilis, *Latin Hymns of the Middle Ages.* (Papers of the Hymn Society, 14) New York, Hymn Society of America, 1948. 16 p. $ 0,15.

Nelson, Robert U., *The Technique of Variation; a Study of the Instru-*

mental Variation from Antonio de Cabezon to Max Reger. Berkeley, University of California Press, 1948, vii, 197 p.

Nettl, Paul, *Luther and Music.* Translated by Frida Best and Ralph Wood. Philadelphia, The Muhlenberg Press, 1948, vii, 172 p.

Praetorius, Michael, *Syntagma Musicum. Vol. 2: De Organographia, 1st and 2nd Parts.* English translation by Harold Blumenfeld. St. Louis, The Translator, 6643 Kingsbury Blvd., 1949. vi, a-x, 80, 3 p., illus. $ 2.50.

Rowen, Ruth Halle, *Early Chamber Music.* New York, King's Crown Press, 1949. 188 p.

Werner, Eric, *The Origin of the Eight Modes of Music.* (Hebrew Union College Annual, Vol. XXI) Cincinnati, The Author, Hebrew Union College, 1948. 211-255 p.

ARTICLES

Bukofzer, Manfred F., « The music of the Old Hall Manuscript », *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXIV (October, 1948), 512-532; XXXV (January, 1949), 36-59.

Coleman-Norton, P. R., « Cicero Musicus », *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* I (Summer 1948), 3-22.

Duckles, Vincent, « The Gamble Manuscript as a source of *Continuo* song in England », *Journal of the A. M. S.,* I (Summer 1948), 23-40.

Ellinwood, Leonard, « The massacre of the Holy Innocents », *The Cathedral Age,* XXIII (Christmas 1948), 3-4, 37.

Mendel, Arthur, « Pitch in the 16th and early 17th centuries », *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXIV (July, 1948), 336-357; (October 1948), 575-593.

Reese, Gustave, « The Origin of the English *In Nomine* », *Journal of the American Musicological Society,* II (Spring, 1949), 7-22.

Sachs, Curt, « Some remarks about old notation », *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXIV (July 1948), 365-370.

Strunk, Oliver, « The music of the Old Hall Manuscript — a Postscript », *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXV (April 1949), 244-249.

Wellesz, Egon, « In Memoriam: P. Kilian Kirchhoff, O. F. M. », *The Musical Quarterly,* XXXIV (July, 1948), 323-4.

Woodworth, Robert W., « The French language in the international terminology of music », *The French Review,* XXII (December 1948), 151-8.

MUSIC

The Fitzwilliam Virginal Book, [facsimile reprint of the original] ed. from the original ms. by J. A. Fuller Maitland and W. Barclay Squire. New York, Broude Bros., 1949. 2 v.

CORRECTIONS FOR H. J. MOSER

Lutheran Composers in the Hapsburg Empire (*Musica Disciplina*, *III*, *1*)*

	Wrong	*Right*
Page 3 line 15	Schmelz	Schmeltzl
» 5 » 12	Tetnhau	Tetschan
» 5 » 31	Schmalkalden	Schalckstetten
» 6 » 9	Anschau	Ascau
» 6 » 3 fr. bot.	Trigapicardiana	Triga picardiana
» 7 » 4	Kadau	Kaden
» 7 » 10	in Saaz	near Saaz
» 7 » 15	in 1618	in 1618 at Königgräz
» 7 » 21	Hacko	Hancko
» 7 » 3 fr. bot.	Halderstädter	Halberstädter
» 7 las line	The *schlacht von Pavia* was not composed by Janequin, as suggested parenthetically, but by Verecore, alias Math. Herman Werrecorensis.	
» 8 line 4 fr. bot.	Laubau	Lauban
» 10 » 18	Grüger	Crüger
» 10 » 20	Hinzler	Heizler
» 11 » 8	Wihenstefan	Weihenstefan
» 11 » 8	Garten	Garsten
» 11 » 23	Geuch	Geuck
» 11 » 30	Bierdampfelius	Bierdümpfelius
» 12 » 6	Thymiatericum	Thymiaterium
» 12 » 14	Cursus	Currus
» 12 » 2 fr. bot.	Franckerschien	Franck
» 13 » 27	Gohler	Göhler
Page 14 line 5 fr. bot.	Niederungen	Lower Hungary
» 14 » 2 fr. bot.	gymnasts	apprentices, musicians of the tower
» 15 » 26	Macholg	Machold
» 17 In the music ex. line 2		verrettest du des menschen son
» 18 line 7	Evangelienharmonic	Evangelienharmonie
» 20 » 21	Caslabamus	Caslatanus
» 21 » 24	Stabenberg	Stübenberg
» 22 bottom line	Klausenberg	Klausenburg
» 24 » 1	Autsrian	Austrian
» 24 Second music ex.		Ershrick nit..., Befiehl dein Sach dem lieben Gott

* It will be remembered that, owing to irregularities in Germany (Russian Zone), the proofs of this article were not corrected by the author. Later, however, the author made the corrections printed here. *The Editor.*

COMMUNICATIONS

To the Editor of « Musica Disciplina »

Dear Sir, October 11th 1949

I am preparing for publication a modernized and annotated edition of Morley's « Plaine and Easie Introduction », at the end of which occurs a list of ' Authors ' whom Morley has consulted. Some of the names in this list are not to be found in any of the standard works of reference, and of others I can find but scanty information. I should be very grateful, therefore, if any of your readers could either give me more details concerning those individuals indicated in the accompanying list or else suggest where I might search myself.

Yours faithfully,

R. A. Harman.

Late Writers.

Incertus Impressus Basiliae
Coregiensis (Manfredus Barbarinus)

Foreign Composers.

Craen (Nicholas) - 15th-16th cent. Dodec. and other colls.
Sylvanus (Andreas) - first half 16th cent.
Antonius a Vinea.
Tzamen (Thomas) first half 16th cent.
Jacques du Pont.
Luyr (Adam) - 16th cent.
Locatello (Jean Baptiste) - mid 16th cent.
Hurtuer
Rinaldo del Mel.
Meyer (Gregorius) early 16th cent. Dodec.
Ingelini (*Angelini*) (Orazio) - second hald 16th cent.

English Composers.

Orwell (Robert) — contemporary of Dunstable.
Wilkinson (Robert) 15th - 16 th cent.
(Thomas) 13th cent.
Davis (Robert) - second half 15th cent.
Risby - first half 16th cent.
Grig (Morgan).
Sturton (Edmund) 15th - 16th cent.
Jacket.
Corbrand.
Testwood (Robert) 16th cent.
Ungle.
Beech.
Hodges.
Selby (*Shelbye*) (William) - first half 16th cent. B. M. Mulliner.
Ocland (Christopher) B. M.
Newton (Dr.).
Thorne - 15th-16th cent.
Averie - mid 16th cent.

Names in Text but not in List.

Jacobus de Navernia
Lengenbrunner (Johann) mid 16th cent.
Bartolus, Baldus } celebrated 16th (?) cent. lawyers.

B. M. = works in British Museum.
Dodec. = examples in Glareanus 'Dodecachordon'.
[N. B. Please put alternative names underlined in italics.]

*
**

Miss Edith Thurston, 57 W. 90th Street, New York City, communicates that she is preparing a doctoral dissertation on the two-part organa and all the conductus of the manuscript Wolfenbüttel 1206.

*
**

The following communication has been received from the Schola Cantorum of Basel:

Jahresbericht der Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. Am Ende seines 16. Schuljahres darf das von *Paul Sacher* geleitete Lehr-& Forschungsinstitut für alte Musik, die Schola Cantorum Basiliensis, wieder auf eine erfolgreiche Unterrichts-und Konzerttätigkeit zurückblicken. Im Vergleich zum vorhergegangenen Jahre zeigt die Zahl der Kursteilnehmer eine erfreuliche Konstanz. Einen gewissen Rückgang hat lediglich die Ziffer der ausländischen Besucher aufzuweisen, da manche Leute wegen Devisenschwierigkeiten an der Einreise verhindert waren. Von der Mannigfaltigkeit des an der Schule praktisch gepflegten Stoffes zeugen — neben den Lehrplänen der beiden Semester und der Herbstkurse — die Themen der zwanzig Vortragsstunden, von denen mehrere Einblick in die Unterrichtsmethode gewährten. Auch ausserhalb des engeren Rahmens wurden die musikpädagogischen Grundsätze der Schule in besonderen Kursen speziellen Interessenten zugänglich gemacht. In Verbindung mit der theologischen Fakultät unserer Universität erörterte man im Lauf eines liturgischen Seminars Fragen der evangelischen Kirchenmusik. Ausserdem gelangten Einführungskurse in die katholische Kirchenmusik und in das Gebiet des geistlichen und weltlichen Lieds zur Durchführung. Die genannten Kurse standen unter der bewährten Leitung von *Ina Lohr* und fanden reges Interesse. Daneben sind die von der gleichen Lehrerin betreuten Ensembles zu erwähnen, die in elf Sonderveranstaltungen bei verschiedenen Gelegenheiten eine freudige Aktivität bewiesen.

Eine umfangreiche künstlerische Arbeit leistete die von *August Wenzinger* geleitete Konzertgruppe. In bester Erinnerung sind noch ihre drei Hauskonzerte und zwei öffentlichen Darbietungen bei den Freunden alter Musik in Basel und ihr Auftreten im Rahmen des Basler internationalen Kongresses für Musikwissenschaft. Mehrere Konzertreisen dieser Gruppe ins Ausland und zahlreiche Radiosendungen haben die internationalen Beziehungen der S.C.B. gefestigt und ihr die Anerkennung weiterer Kreise gebracht.

*
**

Copies of Vol. I, especially No. 1, *(Journal of Renaissance and Baroque Music)*, are desired for purchase. Please communicate either with the office of the Institute in Cambridge or in Rome.